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## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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29 AUGUST 1989

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## ESSR Offers Draft Law on Changes to Republic Constitution

### Supreme Soviet Decree

*18001391 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 p 1*

[Decree of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Submission for Popular Discussion of Drafts of the Law "On Making Changes and Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and the Law "On Elections to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Estonian SSR," issued 20 June 1989]

[Text] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves that:

1. The drafts of the Law "On Making Changes and Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and the Law "On Elections to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies" are to be published for popular discussion in the newspapers RAHVA HAAL and SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA.

2. The executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, state and social bodies, and the mass information media are instructed to summarize the suggestions and remarks received in the course of the popular discussion and to present them weekly in summarized form until 15 July 1989 to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in accordance with the Estonian SSR Law "On the Popular Discussion of Important Issues of State and Public Life in the Estonian SSR."

3. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's work group on constitutional legislation is to examine the suggestions and remarks on the legislative drafts, received by the Presidium from the people's deputies, citizens, the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, labor collectives, state and public bodies, and the mass information media, introduce the necessary changes and amendments in the draft laws, and send them by 19 July 1989 to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Legislative Proposals and the Commission for Developing a New Estonian SSR Constitution and Improvement of Constitutional Legislation.

4. Taking the received suggestions and remarks on the draft laws into account, they are to be presented for the examination of the 24 July 1989 Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session.

[Signed] A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and A. Almann, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, Tallinn. 20 June 1989]

### Draft Law

*18001391 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 p 1*

[Law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic on Making Changes and Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Basic Law)]

[Text] The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet resolves:

To introduce the following changes and amendments in the Estonian SSR Constitution (Basic Law):

Article 1. Change parts 2 and 3 of Article 79 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and state them in the following revised form: "The term of authority for local soviets of people's deputies is 5 years."

"Elections to the soviets of people's deputies begin no later than 4 months before the expiration of the authorities of the corresponding soviets."

Article 2. Change Article 84 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and state it in the following revised form: "Elections of deputies in all soviets of people's deputies are carried out in single-mandate or multi-mandate electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal and direct electoral right with secret voting."

Article 3. Change Article 85 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and state it in the following revised form: "Elections of deputies are universal: citizens of the Estonian SSR, who have reached 18 years of age and have a permanent place of residence in the territory of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies, have the right to vote; any citizen of the Estonian SSR who has reached 18 years of age and has lived in the territory of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies for no less than 5 consecutive years or in Estonia for an overall duration of 15 years can be a deputy."

Psychologically ill citizens, those deemed incompetent by a court in the established legal procedure, as well as citizens who have been convicted and are serving sentences in prison or are placed in mandatory treatment institutions by a court decision, do not have the right to vote or to be elected."

Article 4. Change Article 89 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and state it in the following revised form: "Candidate deputies are nominated by the Communist Party of Estonia, by trade unions, by cooperative organizations, by the Leninist Communist Youth Union of Estonia, by associations of women, war and labor veterans and scientific workers, by creative unions, as well as by other public organizations or social movements, which have the right to participate in elections to the bodies of state power in accordance with registered statutes, by electoral unions formed by these public organizations or social movements, and also by labor collectives, by voters' meetings by place

of residence, and by voters who have joined together in the procedure for civic initiative for nominating candidate deputies."

"Citizens, public organizations or social movements, and labor collectives are guaranteed the free and universal discussion of the political, practical and personal qualities of candidate deputies, as well as the right to conduct agitation at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio."

"Elections of the soviets of people's deputies are carried out at the state's expense. The candidate deputies also have the right to use donations from state and public enterprises, institutions and organizations, social movements, as well as from individual people, in order to conduct their election campaign in the stipulated procedure."

Article 5. Change Article 90 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and state it in the following revised form: "Citizens of the Estonian SSR cannot simultaneously be a deputy for more than two soviets of people's deputies and cannot simultaneously be on the ballot for more than two soviets of people's deputies. A candidate deputy cannot agree to be placed on the ballot for a soviet of people's deputies in more than one electoral okrug."

"Electoral commissions, formed of representatives of public organizations and social movements, labor collectives, and voters' meetings by place of residence, ensure the conduct of the elections to the soviets of people's deputies."

"The procedure for elections of USSR people's deputies is determined by the corresponding USSR law. The procedure for elections of soviets of people's deputies for the Estonian SSR is determined by the laws of the Estonian SSR."

Article 6. Replace the Estonian word "valimised" with the word "valimise" in the text of Point 1, Article 108.

### **ESSR Draft Law on Elections to Local Soviets**

*18001392 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 pp 1-3*

[Draft law of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet: "Estonian SSR Law on Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies of Estonian SSR"]

[Text]

#### **Part I. General Provisions**

##### **Article 1. Foundations of the Electoral System**

Deputies to local soviets of people's deputies are elected in single-seat or multiple-seat electoral districts by citizens of Estonian SSR on the basis of the universal, equal, and direct right of election by secret ballot.

##### **Article 2. Universal Right of Election**

(1) Citizens of Estonian SSR who have attained age 18 and have a permanent place of residence on the territory

of the respective soviet of people's deputies possess the right of election.

(2) A citizen of Estonian SSR possesses the right of election only in the electoral district of his permanent place of residence.

(3) Every citizen of Estonian SSR who has attained age 18 and who has lived in the jurisdiction of the respective soviet of people's deputies for at least the last 5 years or in Estonia for a total of 15 years may run for people's deputy.

(4) Citizens who are mentally ill, who have been declared legally incompetent, and also citizens who have been convicted and are serving a sentence in prison or who by court order are in an institution for mandatory treatment do not possess the right to vote and be elected.

(5) Any direct or indirect infringement on the voting rights of a citizen of Estonian SSR on grounds not indicated in Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of this article is prohibited.

##### **Article 3. Equal Right of Election**

In elections to any local soviet of people's deputies, the voter has one vote and voters participate in elections as equals.

##### **Article 4. Direct Right of Election**

Citizens elect people's deputies directly.

##### **Article 5. Secret Ballot**

Voting in elections of people's deputies is secret: no monitoring whatsoever of the voter's vote is permitted.

##### **Article 6. Conduct of Elections by Election Commissions**

Election commissions made up of representatives of public organizations and public movements, work collectives, and assemblies of voters by place of residence guarantee the conduct of elections.

##### **Article 7. Liability for Violation of the Law on Elections**

A person who by violence, deception, threat, or other means prevents a voter's free exercise of his right to elect or be elected people's deputy or to engage in the election campaign, or a member of an election commission, official of a state or public body, or individual who falsifies election documents, who deliberately miscounts votes, violates the secrecy of the ballot, or in any other way violates this Law shall be subject to criminal prosecution.

#### **Part II. Calling of Elections and Formation of Electoral Districts**

##### **Article 8. Calling of Election**

(1) Regular elections to local soviets of people's deputies are held every 5 years.

(2) The date of elections to local soviets of people's deputies is fixed by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than 4 months before expiration of the term of office of those soviets.

(3) Under extraordinary circumstances, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet may call by-elections to all or certain local soviets of people's deputies.

#### **Article 9. Formation of Electoral Districts**

(1) Electoral districts are formed as either single-seat or multiple-seat districts.

(2) Electoral districts are formed for election to the local soviet of people's deputies no later than 3 months before the election date by the respective soviet, and for elections to the soviet of people's deputies of a new political administrative subdivision—by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium. The following limits govern the number of seats: in rayon (uyezd) soviets of people's deputies from 30 to 50; in soviets of people's deputies of cities under republic jurisdiction (republic cities), with the exception of Tallinn—from 20 to 50; in the Tallinn City Soviet of People's Deputies, based on equal representation of rayons—80; in soviets of people's deputies of cities (rayon jurisdiction), urban settlements, and rural (volost) soviets of people's deputies—from 5 to 20.

(3) The administrative division of the territory and its other peculiarities are taken into account in defining the boundaries of electoral districts.

(4) Announcement of the formation of electoral districts and description of their boundaries are published by the ispolkom of the respective soviet of people's deputies no later than 85 days before the date of the election.

#### **Part III. Election Precincts**

##### **Article 10. Formation of Election Precincts**

(1) In elections to local soviets of people's deputies, the territory of rayons (uyezds) and cities under republic jurisdiction (republic cities) are divided into election precincts for the conduct of the voting and the counting of the votes. When the election precincts are formed, the electoral district is either entirely in one election precinct or the election precinct is entirely in one electoral district.

(2) An election precinct may also be formed on vessels which are en route on election day. These election precincts are part of the electoral district for the vessel's home port.

##### **Article 11. Procedure and Standards for Forming Election Precincts**

(1) Election precincts are formed by ispolkoms of rayon (uyezd) and city (cities under republic jurisdiction—republic cities) soviets of people's deputies. On vessels which are en route on election day, election precincts are

formed by ispolkoms of these soviets of people's deputies for the vessel's home port.

(2) Election precincts are formed no later than 75 days before the date of the election. The announcement of formation of election precincts and of their boundaries is published no later than 2 months before the date of the election in the newspaper of the respective rayon (uyezd) or city, indicating the location of the precinct election commission and the polling place. This announcement is repeated no later than 15 days before the date of the election.

(3) Election precincts are formed with at least 20 and no more than 3,000 voters. In exceptional cases, by permission of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, election precincts may be formed when there are fewer than 20 or more than 3,000 voters.

#### **Part IV. Voting Lists**

##### **Article 12. The Compilation of Voting Lists**

(1) The voting list for each election precinct is drawn up by the respective precinct election commission for the holding of an election to local soviets of people's deputies. This is done in the form prescribed by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet or on blanks printed up for this purpose or by means of computer. The voting list is compiled on the basis of data available on the voters of the election precinct; if necessary, the correctness of these data is verified by the section election commission with the help of the aktiv.

(2) The chairman and secretary of the precinct election commission are responsible for the correctness of compilation of the voting list, certifying it with their signatures at the end of the list.

##### **Article 13. Familiarization of the Voters With the Voting List and Its Correction**

(1) Familiarization of voters with voting lists begins on the premises of the precinct election commission 15 days before the date of the election. If any voter detects mistakes in the voting list, he may demand that the precinct election commission correct them. Mistakes are to be corrected immediately, but if an additional check is needed to correct a mistake, then this must be done within 2 days from the date when the proposal was made. If there are no grounds for making the correction, the applicant is notified within 2 days. This decision may be appealed no later than 5 days before the date of the election before the respective regional election commission, which must examine the appeal within 3 days, and its decision is final. The precinct election commission immediately makes a correction in the voting list pursuant to that decision.

(2) Persons included in voting lists on the day of the election are not excluded from the lists.

(3) A voter who by mistake has not been included on the voting list is placed on a supplemental list by the precinct

election commission on the day of the election, and that list is signed by the chairman and secretary of the precinct commission after the voting is over.

#### **Part V. Election Commission**

##### **Article 14. The System of Election Commissions**

(1) Elections to local soviets of people's deputies are prepared and conducted by the following:

1) election commissions of rayons (uyezds) and cities under republic jurisdiction (republic cities) (district election commissions);

2) precinct election commissions.

(2) The term of office of district election commissions is 5 years.

##### **Article 15. Formation of Election Commissions of Rayons (Uyezds) and Cities Under Republic Jurisdiction (Republic Cities)**

(1) Election commissions of rayons (uyezds) and cities under republic jurisdiction (republic cities) (district election commissions) are formed and changes are made in their composition by the respective soviets of people's deputies or by their ispolkoms. The commissions are made up as follows: a chairman, a deputy chairman, a secretary, and between 10 and 18 (in the Tallinn City Election Commission—as many as 30) members.

(2) District election commissions are formed no later than 3 months before the date of the election. Representatives to district election commissions are nominated by work collectives located within their jurisdiction, and by rayon or city bodies of public organizations and public movements entitled to nominate candidates for deputy.

##### **Article 16. Term of Office of District Election Commissions**

The district election commission:

1) monitors enforcement of the present law within its jurisdiction;

2) approves the makeup of precinct election commissions and makes changes in it, and it guides their activity;

3) hears reports from precinct election commissions, from state and public bodies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations located in its jurisdiction on matters pertaining to the organization of elections;

4) solves problems of the material and technical support of elections in its jurisdiction within the limits of the amounts appropriated by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet;

5) registers candidates for deputy nominated for the rayon (uyezd) or city (city under republic jurisdiction—republic city) soviet of people's deputies and also their agents and issues them the appropriate certificate;

6) keeps records of the candidates nominated for deputies of local soviets of people's deputies;

7) approves the text of ballots and sees that they are made up and supplied to precinct voting commissions;

8) monitors the proper conduct of elections, recognizes and terminates by due process the term of office as deputy of persons elected to the respective local soviets of people's deputies;

9) ascertains the results of elections to the rayon (uyezd) and city (city under republic jurisdiction—republic city) soviet of people's deputies, counts up the totals for elections within the rayon (uyezd) or city, registers deputies elected to soviets of people's deputies of the rayon (uyezd) or city under republic jurisdiction (republic city), and publishes the list of deputies elected to the respective soviets;

10) organizes repeat elections and by-elections to fill vacancies;

11) examines petitions and complaints against the decisions and activity of precinct election commissions and rules on them.

##### **Article 17. Formation of Precinct Election Commissions**

(1) The precinct election commission is formed by the respective district election commission no later than 45 days before the date of the election. The commission is made up of between 3 and 15 members.

(2) Representatives to precinct election commissions are nominated by work collectives located on the territory of the respective rayon (uyezd) or city under republic jurisdiction (republic city), and by rayon (uyezd) or city bodies and primary organizations of public organizations and public movements which are entitled to nominate candidates for deputy and assemblies of voters by place of residence.

(3) The first session of the precinct election commission is called by the respective district election commission.

(4) The term of office of the precinct election commission is terminated by recognition of the authority of the deputies elected.

##### **Article 18. Powers of the Precinct Election Commission**

(1) The precinct election commission:

1) compiles the voting list;

2) furnishes voters an opportunity to examine the voting list; receives and examines proposals for making corrections in the voting list; makes the necessary corrections in the voting list;

3) notifies voters of the location and business hours of the precinct commission, the date of the election, and the polling place;

4) receives absentee ballots in a sealed envelope;

5) sees to preparation of the polling place and ballot boxes;

6) organizes the voting on the day of the election;

7) counts the votes cast in the election precinct;

8) examines petitions and grievances related to the preparation of elections and the conduct of the voting, makes decisions concerning them.

(2) In elections to soviets of people's deputies of cities (rayon jurisdiction), urban settlements, and rural (volost) soviets the precinct election commission registers the candidates for deputy who have been nominated, immediately communicates this information to the respective district election commission and to their agents, and ascertains the results of the election in the electoral district.

**Article 19. Organization of the Work of Election Commissions**

(1) The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the election commission are elected in a meeting of the commission.

(2) The meetings of the election commission are called by its chairman, and they have a quorum if attended by at least two-thirds of the members of the commission. The decisions of the commission are taken by a simple majority of the votes in an open or secret ballot. Members of a commission who do not concur in the commission's decision have the right to express a separate opinion, which is appended in written form to the minutes of the meeting of the election commission.

(3) Decisions of election commissions made within the limits of their powers are binding upon all state and public authorities, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

(4) The decisions and activity of the precinct election commission may be appealed to the respective district election commission, and the decisions and activity of the district election commission to the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

(5) One of the members of an election commission may by decision of the commission be given leave while the election is being organized from performance of production or office duties, during which time he will be paid his average wage out of the amounts appropriated to conduct the election.

(6) The member of an election commission does not have the right to campaign for or against candidates for deputy.

**Article 20. Glasnost in the Proceedings of Election Commissions**

Election commissions inform the public about their meetings, the decisions they have taken, and the measures they are implementing. Meetings of commissions are open.

**Article 21. Assistance of Election Commissions in the Exercise of Their Powers**

(1) State and public bodies, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials must furnish assistance to election commissions in the exercise of their powers and furnish them the data and material necessary for their work.

(2) Election commissions have the right to make requests of state and public bodies, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials on questions of organizing elections, which must examine the question raised and answer the election commission within 3 days.

**Part VI. Nomination and Registration of Candidates for Deputy**

**Article 22. Nomination of Candidates for Deputy**

(1) The nomination of candidates for deputy begins 75 days and ends 45 days before the date of the election.

(2) Candidates for deputy are nominated by the Estonian Communist Party, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the Leninist Communist Youth Alliance of Estonia, associations of women, war and labor veterans, scientists, and creative unions, as well as other public organizations and public movements which under their registered charter have the right to nominate candidates for deputy, election coalitions formed by those public organizations and public movements, and also work collectives, assemblies of voters by place of residence, and voters associated in a citizen initiative to nominate candidates for deputy.

(3) Nomination of a candidate for deputy may also be initiated by any voter of the soviet to be elected.

(4) The nomination of candidates for deputy is submitted in the form prescribed by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

(5) A candidate for deputy in an electoral district for election to the rayon (uyezd) or city (city under republic jurisdiction—republic city) soviet of people's deputies is considered nominated if the papers submitted for him in the prescribed form include at least 50 signatures of voters of the respective soviet of people's deputies.

(6) A candidate for deputy is considered nominated in the electoral district for election to the soviet of people's deputies of a city (rayon jurisdiction) or urban settlement or rural (volost) soviet, if the papers submitted for him in due form contain at least 20 signatures of voters of the respective soviet of people's deputies.

(7) In an election to any soviet, a voter may not furnish his signature in support of the nomination of more than

one candidate for deputy. Should this requirement not be met, all his signatures, except the one given on the first submittal to the district election commission are invalidated by that commission.

(8) The collection of voters' signatures is organized by a representative of the voters, who is also responsible for their authenticity; he may be a citizen initiating nomination of a candidate for deputy or a person designated by a nominating assembly.

(9) At the end of the period for nomination of candidates for deputy, the authenticity of voters' signatures is verified by the district election commissions on their own initiative or on the basis of a written complaint submitted by candidates for deputy running in that electoral district, by their agents, or by representatives of voters who have nominated their own candidates for deputy.

(10) Initiation of a nomination is to be communicated to the district election commission within a period of 3 days. Papers on the nomination are submitted no later than the end of the nomination period.

(11) When papers are submitted to the district election commission, the commission member who has received the document verifies that it meets the requirements of the established form. Should breaches of these requirements be discovered, the nominator is given 72 hours to correct the mistakes discovered. Should mistakes be discovered in the filling out of documents after they have been accepted by the election commission, the nominating documents are considered valid. The member of the election commission who accepted the document issues and signs a certificate indicating the time of acceptance and registration number of the document to the voters' representative submitting the papers.

(12) On the basis of the reports and submittals addressed to the district election commission, the commission keeps up-to-date lists of candidates for deputy whose nomination has been initiated or who have been nominated and sees that they can be examined by all those who wish to do so.

#### **Article 23. Candidate's Consent To Run for Deputy**

(1) A person nominated as a candidate for deputy submits in writing his consent to run to the respective district election commission no later than the end of the nominating period. In his declaration of consent to run, the candidate for deputy must note accurately in which electoral district he consents to run.

(2) A citizen of Estonian SSR may not simultaneously be deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies. He may not run simultaneously for more than two soviets of people's deputies. A candidate for deputy may not give consent to run for the same soviet of people's deputies in more than one electoral district.

(3) If the declaration of a candidate for deputy concerning consent to run should not be submitted to the

respective election commission on time, or should he refuse to run, his name is deleted from the list of candidates for deputy compiled by the election commission.

#### **Article 24. Withdrawal of His Candidacy by a Candidate for Deputy**

A candidate for deputy has the right to withdraw his candidacy, but no later than 20 days before the day of the election, by addressing a written declaration to the respective election commission and by so notifying those who nominated him.

#### **Article 25. Nomination of a New Candidate To Replace a Candidate for Deputy Who Has Withdrawn**

(1) If a candidate for deputy withdraws after the end of the period for registration of candidates for deputy and the number of remaining candidates is less than the number of seats in the electoral district, the respective election commission proposes to the voters that they nominate a new candidate for deputy. If a candidate for deputy withdraws less than 15 days before the date of the election and the number of candidates is less than the number of seats for the electoral district, the respective district election commission may fix new dates for nominating and registering candidates for deputy and a new date for the vote in the respective electoral district during the 2 weeks following the day of the election.

(2) A new candidate for deputy is nominated to replace a candidate who has withdrawn in accordance with the procedure set down by this Law.

#### **Article 26. Registration of Candidates for Deputy**

(1) Nominating papers properly filled out and a written declaration of the candidate for deputy consenting to run are required to register a candidate who has been nominated for deputy.

(2) The respective district election commission registers candidates for deputy in elections to the rayon (uyezd) or city (city under republic jurisdiction—republic city) soviet of people's deputies, and the respective precinct election commission does so in elections to the soviet of people's deputies of the city (rayon jurisdiction), urban settlement, or rural (volost) soviet.

(3) The respective election commission may not refuse to register candidates who have been nominated for deputy if the candidate for deputy has been nominated in conformity with the requirements of this Law and if deficiencies in nominating documents have been corrected within the required period. A refusal of registration may be appealed within 3 days to the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet or to the respective district election commission, whose decision, which is to be made within 2 days, is final and binding on the respective election commission.

(4) A decision on registration of a candidate for deputy may be invalidated only by the election commission



which registered the candidate for deputy. If the district election commission does not meet the requirement of invalidating its decision to register a candidate for deputy, then a candidate for deputy running in the same electoral district or appropriate law enforcement agency has the right to address that election commission on the subject of invalidating the decision in question. The election commission must examine this petition and make a decision within 2 days. This decision may be appealed to the respective district commission or to the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, whose decision, which is to be made within 2 days, is final.

(5) The respective district election commission issues to every candidate for deputy registered a certificate to that effect.

(6) No later than the 3d day after the end of the registration period the district election commission publishes in the press an announcement of the candidates for deputy registered, giving the last name, first name, patronymic, and year of birth of the candidate for deputy, the position he holds (occupation), place of employment, and place of residence.

(7) A person who has been nominated for deputy and who is a member of an election commission is relieved of his duties on the commission from the moment he is registered as a candidate for deputy.

#### Article 27. The Ballot

(1) The ballot indicates the first name and last name of candidates for deputy.

(2) Registered candidates for deputy are entered on the ballot in the order of receipt of the documents for registration by the respective election commission.

(3) The printing of ballots separately in the Estonian and Russian languages is organized by the respective district election commission and financed from the funds appropriated to it for that purpose. The ballots are delivered to the precinct election commission no later than 15 days before the date of the election.

### Part VII. Basic Guarantees of the Activity of Candidates for Deputy

**Article 28. The Right of a Candidate for Deputy To Speak in Assemblies, To Make Use of the Mass Media, and To Obtain Information**

(1) After registration by the district election commission, the candidate for deputy has the right to speak in election campaign assemblies, conferences, and to appear in the press, on television, and on the radio.

(2) Government and public agencies and directors of enterprises, institutions, and organizations are required to extend assistance to candidates for deputy in organizing meetings with the voters and in obtaining the necessary documentation and information.

#### Article 29. Agents of a Candidate for Deputy

(1) A candidate for deputy may have as many as five agents, who after their registration by the respective election commission aid the candidate for deputy in conducting his election campaign and represent his interests in relations with government and public bodies, the voters, and election commissions.

(2) A candidate for deputy appoints agents at his own discretion and informs the election commission about them for purposes of registration. The election commission issues them credentials after registration.

(3) The agent may not be a member of any election commission.

(4) At the request of a candidate for deputy, the agent of a candidate for deputy may while performing duties related to the election be given leave from performance of his production duties or official duties, being paid his average wage out of the amounts allocated for conducting the election.

#### Article 30. Election Campaign Promotion

(1) Citizens of Estonian SSR, public organizations and movements, and work collectives are guaranteed the possibility of free and comprehensive discussion of the political, businesslike, and personal attributes of candidates for deputy and also the right to campaign for or against a candidate in assemblies, in the press, and over television and the radio.

(2) Election commissions organize the availability of appropriately furnished space for candidates to hold assemblies and rallies and also opportunities for campaigning through the mass media.

(3) Candidates for deputy hold meetings with their voters according to a format suitable to them. Assemblies of voters are organized by the agents of the candidate for deputy jointly with the ispolkom of the respective soviet of people's deputies, public organizations, public movements, and work collectives. The election commission and the voters are informed in good time about the time and place of assemblies and meetings.

(4) Campaigning is not permitted on election day except for previously posted printed material away from the polling place.

#### Article 31. Leave of the Candidate for Deputy From Work Duties or Official Duties To Take Part in Election Campaign Events

Following his registration a candidate for deputy is given leave while conducting meetings with voters, while speaking in election campaign assemblies and rallies and over television and the radio from performance of his production duties or official duties, and in that time he retains his average wage, paid out of the funds allocated to hold the election.

**Article 32. Expenditures Involved in Elections**

(1) Expenditures to organize an election are covered out of the money of the state established by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

(2) Expenditures of a candidate for deputy to conduct his election campaign are reimbursed by the respective district election commission in the amount according to the procedure established by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. Candidates for deputy also have the right to use for conduct of their election campaign donations of state and public enterprises, institutions, and organizations, public movements, and also individuals in accordance with the procedure established by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

(3) Enterprises, institutions, organizations, and government bodies place at the disposition of election commissions without compensation space and equipment necessary for the organization of elections.

**Article 33. Immunity of the Candidate for Deputy**

(1) The candidate for deputy may not be charged with a crime or arrested, nor may a court pronounce administrative penalties against him without consent of the respective district election commission.

(2) Should a threat arise to the personal safety of the candidate for deputy, members of his family, or the inviolability of his property, law enforcement agencies provide the necessary protection at the request of the candidate for deputy.

**Part VIII. Procedure for Voting and Determining the Results of the Election****Article 34. Voting Time and Place**

(1) On election day, the voting begins at 0700 hours and ends at 2000 hours.

(2) The precinct election commission informs all the voters of the voting time and place no later than 15 days before the election.

(3) In election precincts formed on vessels which are en route on election day or on islands difficult of access because of transportation connections, the precinct election commission may declare the polls closed at any time if all those on the voting list have voted.

(4) A voter absent temporarily from his place of residence over a period beginning after universal examination of voting lists and absent on election day may request absentee ballots from the precinct election commission for his place of residence, decide among the candidates for deputy, and leave the completed ballots in a sealed envelope with the precinct commission, which on election day opens the envelope while the vote is being counted and adds the ballots in the envelope to the

other ballots which have been cast. The voter signs the voting list to obtain the ballot.

**Article 35. Voting**

(1) In each election precinct, the voting is done in a specifically designated place where booths have been set up for voting in secret, a place for issuing ballots, and ballot boxes.

(2) The precinct election commission is responsible for maintaining order in the polling place.

(3) Before voting begins, the chairman of the precinct election commission, in the presence of all members of the commission, checks the ballot boxes and seals them.

(4) Every voter votes in his own person. Ballots are issued to the voter by the precinct election commission on the basis of the voting list upon presentation of passport or other proof of identity and place of residence. The voter signs the voting list to obtain ballots.

(5) Voters included on the voting list by mistake are included on a supplement to the voting list on the basis of a document proving their identity and place of residence.

(6) At the request of individual voters who because of their state of health or some other good reason cannot come personally to the polling place, the precinct election commission may as an exception order at least two members of the commission to jointly organize voting at the place where these voters are located on the basis of a supplemental list compiled for them.

**Article 36. Procedure for Marking the Ballot**

(1) The voter must be alone in the voting booth and must mark the ballot on his own. A voter unable to mark the ballot on his own has the right to invite another person into the booth at his own discretion except for a member of an election commission.

(2) In marking the ballot, the voter places a mark (cross) in the box opposite the last name of the candidate for whom he is voting.

(3) The voter votes by dropping the ballot in the ballot box.

**Article 37. Counting the Votes in the Election Precinct**

(1) The precinct election commission counts the votes separately for each electoral district and each candidate for deputy.

(2) The ballot boxes are opened by the precinct election commission after the polls are closed. It is prohibited to open ballot boxes before the polls are closed. Before the ballot boxes are opened, all ballots which have not been cast by voters must be canceled by the precinct election

commission. After that, the ballots cast in the ballot boxes are counted outside the polling place.

(3) The precinct election commission determines from the voting list and additions to it the total number of voters in the electoral district or election precinct and also the number of voters who have received ballots. On the basis of the ballots in the ballot boxes and the ballots marked by voters temporarily absent on election day and left with the precinct commission, the precinct election commission establishes the total number of voters who took part in the vote, the number of votes cast for each candidate for deputy, and the number of ballots declared invalid.

(4) Ballots are declared invalid if they do not conform to the form established by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet or have not been marked or on which the last names of more than one candidate have been marked. Should a doubt arise, the question of the validity of a ballot is resolved by a vote of the precinct election commission.

(5) The results of the vote count are examined in a meeting of the precinct election commission and are entered in the minutes separately for each electoral district. The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and immediately sent to the respective district election commission. The personal opinions of commission members filing declarations and complaints with the commission concerning violations that occurred during the voting or in counting the votes and the document compiled in the case when the seal on the ballot box has been broken are appended to the minutes.

(6) The votes are counted in public.

**Article 38.** Determination of the Result of the Election in the Electoral District

(1) The result of the election in the electoral district is determined by the respective election commission on the basis of the official record of the results of the vote compiled for each district separately.

(2) In a single-seat electoral district, that candidate for deputy is considered elected who has received the largest number of votes.

(3) In a multiple-seat electoral district, candidates for deputy are considered elected according to the number of votes obtained and the number of seats.

(4) Elections are considered invalid if less than half of the voters on the voting list have taken part in them and also when a candidate for deputy has died if one candidate was registered in the electoral district.

(5) The results of an election are determined in a meeting of the district election commission when the election is to the rayon (uye zd) and city (city under republic jurisdiction—republic city) soviet of people's deputies and in a session of the precinct election commission when the election is to the soviet of people's deputies of the city

(rayon jurisdiction), urban settlement, or rural (volost) soviet; the results of the election are entered in the minutes, which are signed by the chairman of the commission, the deputy chairman, the secretary, and members of the commission. The personal opinions of commission members who submitted to the commission declarations and complaints concerning violations that occurred during the voting, in counting the votes, or in determining the results of the election are appended to the minutes. The precinct election commission immediately sends the official record concerning the result of the election to the district election commission.

(6) Determination of the result of the election is public.

**Article 39.** Registration of Deputies. Publication of Election Results

(1) On the basis of the election results, district election commissions summarize the results of the election to the respective soviet of people's deputies and register the deputies elected.

(2) The district election commission may refuse to register a deputy and may declare the election invalid if during the election or the counting of the votes, or determination of the election results there was a violation of this Law.

(3) The announcement of the result of the election to the rayon (uye zd), city, settlement, or rural (volost) soviet of people's deputies and the list of deputies elected are published by the respective district election commission in the press no later than the 5th day following the election.

**Part IX. Repeat Elections and By-Elections**

**Article 40.** Repeat Elections

(1) If an election in an electoral district has been declared inconclusive or invalid, a repeat election is held. The decision to hold it is made by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. If necessary, it calls upon the respective district commission to establish precinct election commissions of the given electoral district with new members.

(2) A repeat election is conducted within a period of 45 days in conformity with the requirements of this Law. To that end, precinct election commissions are formed no later than the 40th day, nomination of candidates for deputy begins 45 days and ends 30 days before the date of the election, registration of them begins 30 days and ends 15 days before the date of the election, and the examination of voting lists by voters begins 10 days before the date of the election. Voting is done in the same election precincts and with the same voting lists that were compiled for the regular elections.

**Article 41.** By-Election To Fill a Vacant Deputy Seat

(1) If a district election commission invalidates the tenure of certain deputies and also if a deputy withdraws

during his term in the soviet of people's deputies, elections are held in the respective electoral districts to fill the vacant seats. They are held every year on the 3d Sunday of March in accordance with this Law. By-elections are conducted within a 45-day period. Precinct election commissions are formed no later than 40 days before election day, the nomination of candidates for deputy begins 45 days and ends 30 days before election day, the registration of candidates for deputy begins 30 days and ends 15 days before election day, and examination of voting lists by voters begins 10 days before election day.

(2) One of the members of the precinct election commission is given a leave of 20 calendar days from performance of production or official duties during the preparation and conduct of an election, during which time he retains his average wage, which is paid out of the funds allocated for holding the election.

#### Part X. Final Provisions

##### Article 42. Recognition of the Deputy's Election

(1) At the end of 5 days following publication in the press of the list of the deputies registered, and in repeat elections and by-elections after publication of the announcement of the results of the election in the electoral district, the district election commission decides the question of recognizing the election of the deputies elected.

(2) After recognition of the election of the deputy, the respective district election commission issues the deputy his deputy's credentials.

##### Article 43. Forms of Election Documents and Designs of Ballot Boxes and Seals

The forms of all election documents, procedure for their safekeeping, and designs of ballot boxes and seals are established by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

#### Latvian SSR Citizenship Draft Law

18001478 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
26 Jul 89 pp 2,3

["Draft Law of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic on Citizenship of the Latvian SSR"]

[Text]

#### Section 1

##### General Provisions

##### Article 1. Definition of Citizenship of the Latvian SSR

Citizenship of the Latvian SSR is a stable political and legal tie between the citizen and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic that is defined by his loyalty to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Citizenship of the Latvian SSR is the subject of the citizen's honor and dignity.

##### Article 2. Possession of citizenship of the Latvian SSR

Citizens of the Latvian SSR are persons who:

(1) possessed citizenship of the Latvian Republic as of 21 July 1940, acquired Soviet citizenship in accordance with the 7 September 1940 Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and did not lose that citizenship;

(2) while residing permanently on the territory of the Latvian SSR, were granted citizenship of the Latvian SSR on an individual basis in accordance with laws on USSR citizenship in effect on the territory of the Latvian SSR from 7 September 1940 until the present law takes effect and have not lost that citizenship according to procedures defined in USSR law and the present law;

(3) being citizens of the USSR, as of the time the present law takes effect have had a permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR for no less than 10 years (variant 2—for no less than 5 years; variant 3—without the words "no less than 10 years")

(4) have acquired citizenship of the Latvian SSR in accordance with this law.

##### Article 3. Union and republic citizenship

In accordance with the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, uniform citizenship is established in the USSR. Every citizen of the Latvian SSR is simultaneously a citizen of the USSR.

The citizens of other union republics are not citizens of the Latvian SSR.

##### Article 4. Citizens of foreign states and persons without citizenship

In the Latvian SSR, persons who possess the citizenship of any foreign state are citizens of foreign states.

In the Latvian SSR, persons who do not possess the citizenship of any state are persons without citizenship (stateless persons).

##### Article 5. The legal status of citizens of the Latvian SSR

Citizens of the Latvian SSR possess all of the socioeconomic, political and personal rights and liberties proclaimed and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and laws, and by the Constitution and laws of the Latvian SSR.

The Latvian SSR is required to protect the legitimate rights and liberties of citizens of the Latvian SSR and to ensure their equality in all areas of economic, political, social and cultural life.

Citizens should bear the lofty title of citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic with dignity, protect the interests of

the USSR and the Latvian SSR, foster the strengthening of their might and prestige, and be faithful to their socialist homeland.

**Article 6. The legal status of citizens of other union republics on the territory of the Latvian SSR**

On the territory of the Latvian SSR, the citizens of other union republics enjoy the same rights and liberties and have the same duties as the citizens of the Latvian SSR.

The citizens of other union republics are equal before the law regardless of origin, social and property status, racial and national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, birth and the nature of employment and other circumstances.

**Article 7. The legal status, on the territory of the Latvian SSR, of citizens of foreign states and persons without citizenship**

On the territory of the Latvian SSR the citizens of foreign states and persons without citizenship have the legal status of foreigners, unless normative acts of the USSR and the Latvian SSR indicate otherwise.

On the territory of the Latvian SSR all persons without exception, regardless of their citizenship, are required to respect and observe the Constitution and laws of the USSR and the Constitution and laws of the Latvian SSR.

On the territory of the Latvian SSR the citizens of foreign states and persons without citizenship are guaranteed the rights and liberties provided by law, including the right to appeal to the court and other state agencies of the Latvian SSR for the protection of the personal, property, family and other rights belonging to them.

Citizens of foreign states who are on the territory of the Latvian SSR have the right to appeal for protection to the consular or diplomatic representatives of their states.

**Article 8. Equality of citizenship of Latvian SSR**

Regardless of the grounds on which it is acquired, citizenship of the Latvian SSR is equal for all citizens of the Latvian SSR in all spheres of legal capacity and capability.

**Article 9. Legislation on citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

Legislation on citizenship of the Latvian SSR consists of relevant provisions of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR and the present law. Citizenship of the Latvian SSR is regulated only by the legislation of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and in disputed cases is determined on the basis of that legislation, and also of international treaties of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 10. The preservation of citizenship of the Latvian SSR in the conclusion and dissolution of marriage**

The entry of a male or female citizen of the Latvian SSR into marriage with a person having the citizenship of another union republic or of a foreign state, or into marriage with a person without citizenship, as well as the dissolution of the marriage, entails no change in the citizenship of the spouses.

The acquisition or loss of citizenship of the Latvian SSR by one of the spouses does not entail a change in the citizenship of the other spouse or of the children of the given marriage.

**Article 11. The preservation of citizenship of the Latvian SSR by persons residing outside the borders of the Latvian SSR**

The residence of a citizen of the Latvian SSR outside the borders of the USSR or in other union republics does not entail the loss of citizenship of the Latvian SSR, regardless of the period of time.

**Article 12. Protection by the state of citizens of the Latvian SSR abroad**

In accordance with the constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, citizens of the Latvian SSR abroad enjoy the protection of the Soviet state.

**Article 13. The question of the extradition of a citizen of the Latvian SSR to a foreign state or the law-enforcement agencies of other union republics**

A citizen of the Latvian SSR cannot be extradited to a foreign state.

The extradition of a citizen of the Latvian SSR to the law-enforcement agencies of other union republics is carried out by law-enforcement agencies of the Latvian SSR in accordance with their departmental subordination.

**Article 14. Questions of dual citizenship**

The acquisition by a citizen of the Latvian SSR of the citizenship of a foreign state does not entail loss of citizenship of the Latvian SSR, just as it does not affect his duties to the Latvian SSR, its state, public and cooperative organizations, and its citizens.

The acquisition by a citizen of the Latvian SSR of the citizenship of another union republic entails the loss of citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

**Section 2.**

**Acquisition of Citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

**Article 15. The grounds for acquisition of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

Citizenship of the Latvian SSR is acquired:

- (1) by birth;
- (2) as the result of acceptance into citizenship of the Latvian SSR;

(3) on grounds stipulated in international treaties of the USSR and the Latvian SSR;

(4) on other grounds stipulated in this law.

**Article 16. The citizenship of children whose parents are citizens of the Latvian SSR**

A child both of whose parents have citizenship of the Latvian SSR as of the moment of his birth is deemed a citizen of the Latvian SSR, regardless of the place of his birth.

If the persons referred to in the first part of this article have acquired their citizenship on the basis of birth outside the borders of the Latvian SSR and are residing permanently there, such persons cannot convey citizenship of the Latvian SSR by birth on their child.

**Article 17. The citizenship of children one of whose parents is a citizen of the Latvian SSR**

When parents of whom one has citizenship of the Latvian SSR at the moment of a child's birth have different citizenships, the child is a citizen of the Latvian SSR if he:

(1) has been born on the territory of the Latvian SSR;

(2) has been born outside the borders of the Latvian SSR, but his parents or one of them at that time had a permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR. In this case the parents can, by mutual consent, select the citizenship of the one of them who is not a citizen of the Latvian SSR for the child.

When parents of whom one had citizenship of the Latvian SSR at the moment of a child's birth have differing citizenships, if both parents had a permanent place of residence outside the borders of the Latvian SSR at that time, the citizenship of a child born outside the borders of the Latvian SSR is determined by agreement between the parents.

If one parent had citizenship of the Latvian SSR at the moment of a child's birth and the other was a person without citizenship or was unknown, the child is a citizen of the Latvian SSR, regardless of place of birth.

**Article 18. The acquisition of citizenship of the Latvian SSR by the children of persons who do not possess citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

A child who was born on the territory of the Latvian SSR to persons without citizenship having a permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR acquires citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

The child of USSR citizens not possessing the citizenship of other union republics but residing permanently on the territory of the Latvian SSR has the right to acquire citizenship of the Latvian SSR by birth.

**Article 19. The citizenship of children whose parents are unknown.**

A child who is found on the territory of the Latvian SSR and both of whose parents are unknown is deemed a citizen of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 20. The citizenship of a child born on board a seagoing vessel or an aircraft.**

The birth of a child on board a seagoing vessel or aircraft registered in the Latvian SSR is equated with birth on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

**Section 3**

**Admission to Citizenship of the Latvian SSR (Naturalization)**

**Article 21. Admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

The citizens of other union republics, foreign citizens, and persons without citizenship may be, upon their petition, admitted to citizenship of the Latvian SSR in accordance with this law regardless of their racial and national affiliation, sex or education.

The question of admitting a person to citizenship of the Latvian SSR or refusing that admission is decided by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

At the request of the petitioner, he should be informed of the motives for refusal of naturalization.

In deciding questions of admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR, the international treaties of the USSR and the Latvian SSR are taken into account.

**The conditions for admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

Admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR may be extended to persons who:

(1) at the time of submitting a petition for naturalization have had a permanent place of residence (period of continuous residence) in the Latvian SSR of no less than 10 years. On the condition that a person has a general permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR for the duration of 10 years, studies, army service or a lengthy business trip are not an obstacle to application of the rules in this point. The rules on period of continuous residence indicated in this point do not pertain to minor children and other legally incapable members of families of persons acquiring citizenship of the Latvian SSR. The term of service of a punitive sentence on the territory of the Latvian SSR is not counted toward the period of continuous residence necessary for the acquisition of citizenship;

(2) know the fundamentals of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR and have a mastery of the spoken Latvian language. The requirement concerning knowledge of the Latvian language is not applied to persons over 60 years of age;

(3) pledge in a witnessed declaration written in their own hand to observe the Constitution and laws of the Latvian

SSR, to respect the Latvian nation's right to self-determination and acknowledge its statehood, and also, being patriots of the Latvian SSR, intend to devote their efforts to the strengthening of its sovereignty, building of its economic well-being and flourishing of its culture, and to always link their own future to its;

(4) have a legal permanent source of livelihood.

The requirements in the first part of this article may be disregarded only in exceptional cases pertaining to:

(1) persons who have rendered special services to the Latvian SSR;

(2) outstanding figures in the area of politics, culture, art or science who enjoy world or all-union prestige.

Persons from among colonists, refugees and citizens persecuted for revolutionary activity, as well as displaced persons who left the territory of Latvia prior to or after the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the descendants of such persons, are admitted to citizenship of the Latvian SSR without application of the period of continuous residence.

#### **Article 23. Grounds for refusal of admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

Admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR is not granted to persons who:

(1) have been sentenced for premeditated crime to the deprivation of freedom and have an unrevoked conviction or unfinished sentence, or are facing criminal charges at the moment that the question of naturalization is decided;

(2) took part in the commission of unlawful acts of repression during the German fascist occupation or Stalin's personality cult;

(3) served in the ranks of the German fascist punitive or intelligence agencies during World War II or in the Band groups following World War I; were mercenaries or terrorists; committed international or war crimes or crimes against humanity;

(4) arouse national or racial enmity or discord; disseminate the ideas of fascism, chauvinism or Stalinism;

(5) are drug addicts, prostitutes or chronic alcoholics, or engage in vagrancy;

(6) have not relinquished the citizenship of a foreign state before petitioning for naturalization in the Lithuanian SSR.

#### **Section 4**

#### **Loss of Citizenship of the Latvian SSR, and Restoration to Citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

##### **Article 24. Grounds for the loss of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

Citizenship of the Latvian SSR is lost:

(1) as the result of relinquishment of citizenship of the Latvian SSR;

(2) as the result of deprivation of citizenship of the Latvian SSR;

(3) on grounds stipulated by international treaties of the USSR and the Latvian SSR;

(4) on other grounds stipulated in this law.

Loss of citizenship of the Latvian SSR does not entail loss of USSR citizenship.

##### **Article 25. Relinquishment of citizenship of the Latvian SSR (expatriation)**

Relinquishment of citizenship of the Latvian SSR is authorized by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Relinquishment of citizenship of the Latvian SSR may be refused if the person petitioning for relinquishment has unfulfilled obligations to the state, or property obligations that involve fundamental interests of citizens or of state, cooperative or other public organizations of the Latvian SSR.

Relinquishment of citizenship of the Latvian SSR is not allowed if the person petitioning for relinquishment has outstanding charges against him, or if a court judgment against him exists that has taken legal effect is subject to being served.

##### **Article 26. Deprivation of citizenship of the Latvian SSR (denaturalization)**

Deprivation of citizenship of the Latvian SSR may take place in exceptional cases by decision of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A person may be deprived of citizenship of the Latvian SSR if he has committed actions discrediting the lofty title of citizen of the USSR or the Latvian SSR and damaging the prestige or state security of the USSR or Latvian SSR.

Depriving a person of citizenship of the Latvian SSR does not entail a change in the citizenship of his spouse and children.

##### **Article 27. Loss of USSR Citizenship**

The decision of matters concerning the relinquishment of USSR citizenship belongs to the jurisdiction of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 28. Expulsion from the territory of the Latvian SSR**

A citizen of the Latvian SSR cannot be expelled from the territory of the Latvian SSR.

A person who has been deprived of citizenship of the Latvian SSR may, with the consent of the union republic accepting him, be expelled from the territory of the Latvian SSR by a decision of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 29. Procedures for the restoration of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

A person who has lost citizenship of the Latvian SSR as a consequence of the relinquishment of citizenship, as the result of a choice by his parents, adoption, or the wrongful deprivation of USSR citizenship, may, at his petition and by a decision of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, be restored to citizenship of the Latvian SSR without taking his period of continuous residence into account.

Persons who have been lawfully deprived of citizenship of the Latvian SSR may be restored to citizenship in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of this law.

**Section 5****Citizenship of Children in the Case of a Change of the Citizenship of Their Parents and in the Case of Adoption****Article 30. Change in the citizenship of children in the case of a change in the citizenship of both parents**

If both parents become citizens of the Latvian SSR or both relinquish citizenship of the Latvian SSR, the citizenship of their children under the age of 14 years changes accordingly.

**Article 31. The acquisition by children of citizenship of the Latvian SSR in the case of the acquisition of citizenship of the Latvian SSR by one of their parents**

If a family is living together in the Latvian SSR or outside its borders and one of the parents acquires citizenship of the Latvian SSR, a child, with his parents' agreement, acquires citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

If one of the parents becomes a citizen of the Latvian SSR and the second is the citizen of another union republic, a child may acquire citizenship of the Latvian SSR upon petition for this by the parent who is acquiring citizenship of the Latvian SSR, if the family is living apart outside the borders of the Latvian SSR and the child is living with the parent who is acquiring citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

If one parent becomes a citizen of the Latvian SSR and the other remains a person without citizenship, a child becomes a citizen of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 32. The retention of citizenship of the Latvian SSR by children in the case of the relinquishment by one parent of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

If one parent relinquishes citizenship of the Latvian SSR but the other retains citizenship of the Latvian SSR, a child retains citizenship of the Latvian SSR if he is residing on the territory of the Latvian SSR with the parent who retains citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

If the parent with whom a child lives relinquishes citizenship of the Latvian SSR and leaves for permanent residence outside the republic's borders, the child loses citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 33. The acquisition by children of citizenship of the Latvian SSR in the case of adoption**

A child who is the citizen of another state or a person without citizenship and is adopted by citizens of the Latvian SSR becomes a citizen of the Latvian SSR.

A child who is the citizen of another state and is adopted by a married couple of whom one is a citizen of the Latvian SSR and the other is a person without citizenship becomes a citizen of the Latvian SSR.

A child who is a person without citizenship and is adopted by a married couple of whom one is a citizen of the Latvian SSR and the other is the citizen of another state becomes a citizen of the Latvian SSR with the agreement of the adopting parents if the couple has a permanent place of residence outside the borders of the Latvian SSR.

A child who is the citizen of another state and is adopted by a married couple of whom one is citizen of the Latvian SSR and the other is the citizen of another state becomes, upon adoption, a citizen of the Latvian SSR if the couple has a permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 34. The retention and loss by children of citizenship of the Latvian SSR in the case of adoption.**

A child who is a citizen of the Latvian SSR and is adopted by the citizens of another state or by a married couple of whom one is a citizen of the Latvian SSR and the other is the citizen of another state retains citizenship of the Latvian SSR if the adopting parents have a permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

A child who is a citizen of the Latvian SSR and is adopted by the citizens of another state may, upon petition by the adopting parents, relinquish citizenship of the Latvian SSR if the couple has a permanent place of residence outside the borders of the Latvian SSR.

A child who is a citizen of the Latvian SSR and is adopted by persons without citizenship or by a married couple of whom one is the a citizen of the Latvian SSR and the other a person without citizenships retains citizenship of the Latvian SSR.



**Article 35. The need for children's consent in the case of a change in their citizenship**

A change in the citizenship of children ages 14 through 18, in the case of a change in the citizenship of their parents, and also in the case of adoption, may take place only with the consent of the children expressed in written form.

In all cases in which the citizenship of minors has been changed without their written consent because of a change in the citizenship of one or both parents, or in the case of adoption, upon reaching his majority the given person has the right to restoration of citizenship of the Latvian SSR without application of the period of continuous residence.

**Section 6**

**International Treaties**

**Article 36. The application of international treaties**

If an international treaty to which the USSR or the Latvian SSR is party establishes rules other than those contained in this law, the rules of the international treaty are applied.

**Section 7**

**Jurisdiction of State Agencies in Questions of Citizenship**

**Article 37. Applications concerning questions of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

Applications concerning questions of the citizenship of the Latvian SSR are addressed to the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and submitted to internal affairs agencies at the place of the petitioner's residence, if he has a permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

Persons living outside the borders of the USSR submit petitions to diplomatic or consular missions of the USSR or the Latvian SSR.

Persons holding the citizenship of a state with which the USSR or the Latvian SSR has a treaty concerning questions of citizenship appends to an application for admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR a document attesting to that state's attitude toward the person's intention to acquire citizenship of the USSR or the Latvian SSR.

Persons residing on the territory of other union republics submit applications to the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Applications concerning questions of citizenship by persons who have not reached the age of 18 and also by persons who are legally incapable or incompetent to do so independently because of the state of their health or other circumstances are submitted by their legal representatives.

An agreement on the choice of a child's citizenship by parents residing outside the borders of the USSR is submitted within three months following the day of the child's birth to a diplomatic or consular mission of the USSR or the Latvian SSR. Parents living on the territory of the Latvian SSR submit the indicated application within the same period to internal affairs agencies at the place of their permanent residence. Parents living on the territory of other union republics submit an application to the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

An agreement by adopting parents on the choice of the child's citizenship is submitted according to the procedures and within the time periods indicated in parts 1-4 and 6 of this article.

**Article 38. Decision of questions concerning admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

The decision of questions concerning the admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship, as well as persons possessing the citizenship of another union republic, belongs to the jurisdiction of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 39. The study of the fact of possession of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

The study of the fact of possession of citizenship of the Latvian SSR by a person residing on the territory of the USSR belongs to the jurisdiction of the internal affairs agencies, and with regard to persons residing abroad, it belongs also to the jurisdiction of diplomatic or consular missions of the USSR or the Latvian SSR.

**Article 40. Procedures for accepting and considering applications**

The internal affairs agencies, as well as diplomatic or consular agencies of the Latvian SSR, are required to accept all applications or complaints on questions of citizenship and to promptly begin their consideration.

On the question of admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR of foreigners and persons without citizenship, supported findings addressed to the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet are presented to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Latvian SSR Committee for State Security and the Latvian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs; with regard to the admission of citizens of the USSR who are not citizens of the Latvian SSR, they are submitted only to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. In cases of necessity a request can be made for the finding of executive committees of rayon (city) soviets at the place of the petitioner's residence.

**Article 41. Procedures for the consideration of applications and representations on questions of citizenship**

The procedures for the consideration of applications and representations on questions of citizenship, for the preparation and drawing up of materials on these questions,

and for the establishment of possession of citizenship of the Latvian SSR are determined by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 42. The jurisdiction of state agencies of the Latvian SSR in the restoration of citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

The jurisdiction of state agencies of the Latvian SSR in the restoration of citizenship of the Latvian SSR is analogues to their powers with respect to admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 43. The jurisdiction of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Questions of Citizenship**

Materials concerning questions of citizenship of the Latvian SSR undergo preliminary examination by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Questions of Citizenship.

For each application, the Commission on Questions of Citizenship gives the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet a proposal that is drawn up as a protocol signed by all the commission members participating in the session.

The Commission on Questions of Citizenship also has responsibility for the preliminary consideration of materials concerning the granting of asylum to foreigners and the preparation of proposals on such questions for the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Commission on Questions of Citizenship has the right to request opinions and materials it needs from appropriate state and public agencies, organizations and officials, which are required, at the commission's request, to supply information necessary for the resolution of cases.

**Article 44. Procedures for the decision of questions of citizenship in the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet**

The Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet makes decisions on each petition for admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

On questions of a change in citizenship, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet issues ukases, and in the case of denial of petitions on questions of citizenship, it issues decrees.

Changes in citizenship take effect on the day that the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet issues an ukase, if the ukase does not state otherwise.

Ukases of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet indicate the surname, given name and patronymic of the person with regard to whom a decision is made; the year and place of his birth; the place of his permanent residence; the surnames, given names and patronymics of his parents; and the surnames, given

names and patronymics of his minor children if their citizenship is being changed at the same time.

On the granting of asylum, the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet issues an ukase indicating the surname, given name and patronymic of the person with regard to whom a decision concerning his citizenship is being made, the year and place of his birth, and the motives for granting him asylum.

**Article 45. Repeat applications on questions of citizenship**

Repeat applications by persons permanently residing on the territory of the Latvian SSR with regard to whom the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet or the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of other union republics have adopted decrees refusing admission to citizenship may be submitted for consideration by the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet upon the expiration of a year following adoption of the previous decision.

**Article 46. Procedures for implementing decisions of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet on questions of citizenship**

The implementation of decisions of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet on question of admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR is the responsibility of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and its agencies.

The implementation of decisions is carried out in accordance with a Directive on Procedures for Drawing up Materials and Implementing Decisions of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet on Questions Connected with Admission to Citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

**Article 47. Monitoring of the implementation of decisions of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet**

Monitoring of the implementation of decisions of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet on questions of admission to citizenship of the Latvian SSR is carried out by the Commission of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet on Questions of Citizenship.

**Section 8**

**Document Attesting to Citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

**Article 48. The document attesting to citizenship of the Latvian SSR**

The document attesting to citizenship of the Latvian SSR is the Soviet passport, and for persons under the age of 16, it is a birth certificate with a special notation on the possession of citizenship of the Latvian SSR.

The notation concerning citizenship of the Latvian SSR is entered onto a passport in the name of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and is authenticated by the signature of the chairman and the seal of the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies.

*Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet*

*Secretary of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet*

### **Theoretical Basis for Lithuanian Autonomy Discussed**

*18001545 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 1.3*

[Article by A. Gelbakh: "From Doubts to Decision"]

[Text] They say that you can select a quote "for any occasion" from Lenin's works. And this is true in many ways. For example, you want to substantiate the need for an argument which "clarifies the truth?" Take this, for example: "Debates (conversations, discussions, and disputes) about the party and about general tactics are necessary; without them the mass dissolves; without them a common decision is impossible, and, consequently, unity of action is also impossible. Without them the Marxist organization of workers falls apart..." On the other hand, it was Vladimir Ilyich who talked about debates as "an impermissible luxury."

It is known that Lenin firmly defended democracy for the majority, and that he attached paramount importance to the mechanism of voting. But here is an interesting remark: "I am categorically opposed to the cessation of debates. It is impossible through simple voting to resolve questions mechanically that are important in principle." (Do we not find here a similarity about the expression that has become well-known concerning the "quietly aggressive majority" at the Congress of Deputies?)

We respect Vladimir Ilyich as a great humanist. But the words "mercilessly," "to jail," "terror," and "to execute" are also from the Lenin lexicon.

Lenin is as contradictory as life itself. And Lenin is as consistent as life itself. And he can only be understood in the context of life, of those historical events which he analyzed, and on which he expressed himself.

Today, Marxism-Leninism is sharply criticized in this country. We have come to the firm conviction that its classics also had a characteristic of erring. On this basis, individual scientists have come to the categorical conclusion: "Marxism-Leninism finally and irrevocably has become obsolete." But, perhaps it is only our view of this science that has become obsolete? It is a simple little question, but opponents object with irritation: "What are you defending? It follows from your Marxism that any truth is verified by practice. But the 70-year practice in building socialism in the USSR attests to the unsoundness of the science." Or it attests to the unsoundness of the application of this science? One should not seriously identify Marxism with the bloody crimes of Stalinism and with the suffocating stagnation of ideas in the period of Brezhnev's rule. Are we not repeating the traditional

error of the cowardly mind, when we "bravely" criticize the past, overthrow some "idols" and then and there put up new ones?

There are many, many questions which we do not take the trouble to answer, or which we simply cannot answer. We talk about revolution, but we keep a firm rein of caution on the idea. And we do not even try to rise to that daring which the classics of Marxism professed. We have almost entirely forgotten that Karl Marx's favorite saying was the aphorism: "Doubt everything!" Because we have become accustomed to it, we do not doubt.

Is this not the source of panicky fright and the almost shock condition that is being experienced by many communists in connection with the declarations in discussions in the Lithuanian Communist Party? "An encroachment on the unity of the CPSU!" "Creeping counterrevolution!" "Betrayal of the interests of the working class!" There are a lot of exactly these kinds of accusations in the editorial mail. There are statements that are more cautious and conciliatory: One can talk about the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party in an integrated CPSU, but not about federalism. This is a subversion of fundamentals..."

But a discussion cannot be fruitful if its scope is severely limited: You can go this far, but the rest is taboo! That is, let us discuss autonomy, but federalism is a no-no... Why? Well, because Lenin said in 1914: "... it would be important to explain our principal attitude toward federation (in the party—author's note). We are against it in principle." But it is possible that he would look at this problem differently in 1989. Because at that time he did not know, and he could not even suppose, for example, how the idea about the creation of a unique association—a union of sovereign socialist states with equal rights—would turn out. On the day that this idea, it seems, found its practical embodiment—31 December 1922—Vladimir Ilyich remarks that "one should not renounce going back"; i.e., retain the union of Soviet republics only in a military and diplomatic sense... Today, we see in such a "weak" association the symptoms not of our unitary state, and not even of a federation, but of a confederation. But is a single party in a confederated union possible at all? Here the answer is absolutely unequivocal. Does this mean that Lenin envisaged this version of the development process as well?

Marxism has become obsolete... Yes, if one has in mind certain erroneous provisions and forecasts of the not very distant future. But it is extraordinarily contemporary for an explanation of questions that we agonizingly resolve today. Autonomy and the full independence of various party organizations is an idea that was not even born yesterday. And the classics of Marxism-Leninism have not repudiated it unconditionally. Turning to them, we find mines of wise advice and remarks.

Of course, we will not find straightforward instructions here. And it would be quite foolish to rely on them. But

the analogies are simply remarkable. As early as 1871, Karl Marx spoke about the necessity for granting "the greatest freedom for the local activity and independence of the organizations of the International." And he emphasized: "The International is in no way an actual government of the working class: It is an association rather than a command force." Try to read this, comparing it with our party apparatus and the existing communist parties of the union republics.

Friedrich Engels in 1880 was even more categorical: "In my opinion, an end is coming to the old party with its former organization (...) "...the old 'strict organization' will be a brake which, even if it should stop the cart, will not be able to hold back the avalanche." And then 10 years later: "The party is so big (it was a question of thousands and not of millions as in our case—author's note) that absolute freedom in the exchange of opinions inside it is a necessity."

It seems to me that even these short sentences are enough to substantiate the necessity for the broadest and deepest, down to its basics, debate in the party. Only the party is suitable and only the party is in a condition to resolve the tasks that are put forward by revolutionary perestroika. It can bring back, and how painful it is to admit this, the authority of the Communist Party that has been lost in many ways.

We must doubt everything. We must not be afraid of this word, and we must carefully inspect and clarify what we have that is really of a communist origin and reflects party-mindedness—and what is from evil. There are now communists, and among them party functionaries, who are trying to completely deny the principle of democratic centralism. This, it is true, is reminiscent of child's play when, jumping upwards for the first time, a child tries to change the law of universal gravity. Even if the party becomes federal and absolutely independent, this principle will become necessary for its normal functioning. It is another matter that its dialectics can and should develop within a large and significantly predominant democratism. But centralism will also remain, let it be the mildest, coordinating organ, but still the managerial organ.

And the slogan about the de-ideologization of the party and the elimination of its fundamental bases—Marxism-Leninism—is intended for those who do not understand that inevitably one ideology will be replaced by another. There are no vacuums here. It is Marxism and its dialectics, I am convinced, that give the broadest scope for a pluralism of views and an exchange of opinions. This is so clear that there is no need for proofs. But searches are necessary for a mechanism that is capable of guaranteeing the party against pride and a new lapse into dogmatism. And they very likely lie on the path of intraparty democratization, and, possibly, also on the path of a multiparty system which will deliver us from the temptation to appropriate a "monopoly right to the truth."

And therefore the discussion in the party should be brave to the point of being daring. Because the usual by no

means denotes the best. Not long ago I had the occasion to observe the play of a sharp, emancipated mind. In Riga in a discussion at a "roundtable," which was being conducted by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, communist A. Chekyolis, editor of the newspaper GIMTASIS KRASTAS, expressed himself stunningly: "It is time once and for all to put an end to bolshevism!" A communist declares this?! Yes, because that side of communism about which he speaks—it is blood and brute force, the most cruel dictatorship, and personal oppression. All of this is really not acceptable in today's democratic society.

But bolshevism is also dedication to one's convictions, purity of thought, and self-denial. These features cannot be denied their nobility, although even they cannot be assessed simply. Formally, an end was put to bolshevism when the party changed its name and turned from the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (of bolsheviks)] into the CPSU. And the first Bolshevik, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, delivered the "first blow" to bolshevism, bringing a new economic policy to the country, after legalizing private initiative. We now call NEP [New Economic Policy] a brilliant amendment to Marxism. But at that time it was a perestroika that was somewhat purer than ours. People left the party in droves, and some even committed suicide, because they thought that the ideals of the revolution were trampled on and betrayed. But in fact they were trampled on and betrayed by that "eminent Bolshevik," the "father of the people," Stalin...

Thus, is there a need for an independent Lithuanian Communist Party with its own program and regulations? I think that this question can be answered only by our discussion, and the congress. But I am convinced that there is no sedition in such a proposal. Because uniformity is by no means the height of creative human thought. Uniformity is good and harmonious only in a military march formation. But, for example, why cannot the Lithuanian Communist Party insert in the Lithuanian Communist Party regulations a shortened or prolonged period of a candidate's length of service? Or its complete abolishment? Why can it not express its attitude toward religion and believers who desire to participate in party work? Finally, the dates for holding meetings, conferences, congresses, and its own schedule of elections to managerial organs? And why must we absolutely have secretaries for ideology, for industry, and for agriculture? Maybe it is better when they are first and foremost politicians and ideologists?

It is said that we are losing our unity of action. Perhaps we will indeed lose uniformity in actions. But this is progressive, is it not?

They say that one's own program inevitably leads to the loss of a strict scientific basis. But "a strict scientific character" was the basis for the building of communism in the USSR up to 1980. In 1977 it certified a society of "developed socialism" in the country. Such a "scientific character" is embarrassing. And it is painful that it leads from one mistake to another on a countrywide scale.

There will be mistakes, and they are inevitable in an independent republic party organization and in its program. But, possibly, they will not lead to such profound consequences when all institutes and the entire party ails from unanimity of thought? Here are the program objectives—the building of a society with a high level of prosperity, free labor and individual sovereignty, and internationalism that is directed at the respect and renewal of nations and their mutual enrichment—they are the same for all communists. It is just that the ways of achieving these objectives can be totally different.

And here is still another reason in favor of diversity and independence. They are necessary because under very different conditions party organizations function in our country not only in union republics, but also in individual regions. It is not possible to develop a common universal prescription for each, because in specific stages both tactics and strategy can differ (naturally, I do not subsume the objectives of communist building under this). And in his day Vladimir Ilyich Lenin saw this very clearly. In his letter to the "Comrade Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Dagestan and the Gorskaya Republic, he emphasized: "It is more important... that the communists of the Zakavkazye understand the uniqueness of their situation, and the situation of their republics, in contrast to the position and conditions of the RSFSR, and that they understand the necessity for not copying our tactics, but to deliberately modify them in conformity with the differences in specific conditions. (...) More mildness, prudence, and tractability with respect to the petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, and especially with respect to the peasantry. To utilize the capitalist West economically in every way possible, intensely and hastily in a policy of concessions and commodity turnover with them. (...) A slower, more careful, and a more systematic transition to socialism—this is what is possible and necessary for the republics of the Caucasus in contrast with the RSFSR. This is what you have to understand and be able to implement..."

And, taking part in the announced discussion, we must also proceed from such an understanding. And not to accept as the absolute truth the lectures of the "federated union" type, when its necessity and progressiveness are founded on an effort to integrate the countries of Western Europe. The incorrectness of such a comparison is obvious. And this incorrectness compels us to resort to doubts. And from doubts to arrive at a well-thought-out, personal, and difficult decision.

#### **Belorussian CP CC Plenum Resolution on Party Role**

*18300762 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 1*

[Resolution of 13th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum: "On Strengthening the Influence of Party Committees and Organizations on the Socio-Political Situation in the Republic at the Contemporary Stage of Perestroika"]

[Text] The Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum, having heard and discussed the report of the Central

Committee Buro delivered by Comrade Ye.Ye. Sokolov, Belorussian CP Central Committee first secretary, notes that the process of political and moral renewal is gaining strength in the republic; that significant changes are taking place in all spheres of the people's socio-economic and intellectual life; and that their socio-political activeness is increasing.

The election of the USSR People's Deputies and their first Congress were a major step in the realization of political reform. Once again they affirmed that Lenin's party is still the only real force capable of guaranteeing revolutionary changes in society; and that the party's prestige can grow and become stronger only by means of increasing the activeness and militance of all party organizations, and expanding their ties with the people.

Under conditions of the complex processes of perestroika, party committees and primary party organizations are conducting a search for new and more effective forms and methods of work, and they are developing the communists' activeness and initiative, and their interest in improving the state of affairs in the working collectives and strengthening their influence among the masses.

Preparations are under way to switch to principles of territorial self-financing and self-management in the republic. Social reorientation of the economy has commenced. Last year the proportion of resources in the national income utilized for social needs amounted to more than 80 percent. The entire growth in national income was achieved by virtue of increasing labor productivity.

Measures planned by the Belorussian CP Central Committee are being implemented to rehabilitate those who suffered innocently in the years of the personality cult, to restore the people's historical-cultural heritage; to develop national-Russian bilingualism and expand the sphere of use of the Belorussian language; and to more fully satisfy the cultural needs of the people.

At the same time the Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum believes that many party committees and organizations did not succeed in finding new forms of work, and that their activity lags behind the processes going on in the life of the country and does not correspond with the complexity and responsibilities of the present stage of perestroika. Inertness, conservatism and formalism, and micromanagement are still making themselves known among Soviet and economic organs. The atmosphere in the collectives is not being studied well; the situation is not always monitored in the localities; and political methods of leadership are being assimilated slowly. What is not being considered is the fact that in recent times, extremist, antisocialist and nationalistic elements have become more active under the cover of democracy and glasnost. Demagogic fabrications and groundless criticism are employed widely, and they are inflaming an unhealthy attitude; they are making attacks on socialism, on the program positions of the CPSU and

the USSR Constitution; and they are attempting to create alternative political party structures and to incite the people to lawlessness and anarchy.

In spite of this, party committees and organizations are at times displaying complacency and political naivete, and are not giving a decisive rebuff to group egotism and demagoguery. Ideological-educational work is quite often divorced from practical matters, and the consolidation of all social forces on the basis of the ideals of perestroika is not being supported. Many party and ideological cadres lack the ability to work in the labor collectives and carry on dialog with representatives of unofficial associations, and direct the people's political energies into a constructive channel.

Not all communists have become true political battlers, firmly and consistently defending the line of the CPSU. Some of them are compromising the party through their misdeeds.

The mass information media, which on the whole properly depicts the pace of perestroika, does not always take a principled party position in illuminating the events taking place. Publications in certain newspapers and magazines frequently do not cover in sufficient depth the work of party committees and primary party organizations. The pages of the press and TV and radio broadcasts do not provide a proper analysis of the fact that some people are trying to take advantage of the difficulties and contradictions of perestroika.

Problems of inter-ethnic relations and patriotic and international education are illuminated unsystematically and superficially.

Many Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive committees are not displaying the proper steadiness and initiative in solving burning social problems. Nor are the trade unions making a proper contribution to carrying out economic reform, improving the workers' living and working conditions, and strengthening production discipline and state of organization. And the activity of the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol organizations does not answer the growing political activeness of the young people.

Serious concern is aroused by instances of mismanagement, by a free-ride and self-enrichment mentality, by speculation and extortion, and by the increase in crime. Law-enforcement organs are not acting energetically in the struggle with negative phenomena. The Mogilev and Minsk Oblast Ispolkoms and the Polotsk, Borisov and Orsha City Councils of People's Deputies, and a number of others, are not carrying out adequate work in this direction.

Restructuring of the management of the economy and social sphere is being implemented slowly on the part of the BSSR Council of Ministers, the ministries and agencies, and the ispolkoms of Councils of People's Deputies. The economic levers of management have not been fully brought to bear; and contract, leasing and other forms of

labor organization have not been allowed to develop fully. In most branches of the national economy, the normative correlation of wage increases and labor productivity is being violated, and unjustified price increases and flooding the market with cheap consumer goods are tolerated. Imbalance in the consumer market, shortages of many goods, the low level of medical services, and a careless attitude toward the people's daily needs are creating social tensions.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum requires that the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro; party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations, take charge of all work on leading the perestroika processes in the political, economic and social spheres, and in deepening democratization and glasnost. Toward these ends, they are to focus attention on the following top-priority problems:

#### **1. In the Area of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work, and Democratization of Intraparty and Social Life.**

Party committees, primary and shop party organizations, and party groups shall, proceeding from the political instructions of the April 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, step up their work on consolidating all the healthy forces in society in the struggle for deepening perestroika. They shall place at the center of their activity the organization of the people's socialist activeness, and maintain constructive dialog with all social forces and voluntary movements which speak out for the renewal of socialism.

At the oblast, city and rayon meetings of the party aktiv in June and July, and at the forthcoming reporting-election and reporting meetings in the primary party organizations, the pace of perestroika shall be thoroughly examined, and the reasons for its retardation exposed. Ways shall be found to renew the style and methods of party work, and its priority directions shall be defined. Special attention shall be devoted to carrying out economic and political reforms and developing democracy and glasnost; for utilizing available capabilities for implementing the long-term programs worked out in the republic for housing, food, consumer goods and the ecology; and for preservation and development of the national language, and the historical-cultural heritage of the people.

The Central Committee Buro, and Belorussian CP obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms shall take measures to strengthening the ideological and organizational unity of the party ranks. Each member of the party shall bear increased personal responsibility for carrying out the demands of the CPSU Program and Regulations and party decisions. Improvements shall be made in selecting personnel for the CPSU, and in forming the basis for the growth of party organizations, especially by virtue of attracting the best workers, kolkhoz members, and representatives of the scientific, technical and creative intelligentsia who have performed with honor in the cause of perestroika. Casual people shall not be permitted to get

into the party. Primary party organizations shall evaluate the practical actions and deeds of the communists from a highly demanding position. For these purposes, wider use shall be made of their participation in perestroika and in discussions. Party members who have brought shame on the title of Communist shall be decisively removed. Membership in organizations opposed to the party and directed toward undermining the unity of society is considered incompatible with membership in the CPSU.

The motives of individual party members who submit a declaration on withdrawal from the CPSU shall be objectively investigated.

The requirements of the 19th All-Union Party Conference for democratization of the work of elected party organizations and for varying the forms of their activities shall be persistently put into practice; changes in the elected aktiv by the apparat shall not be permitted. It shall be the norm of intraparty life for party members and candidate members to actively participate at party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms; for members of the auditing committees to take part in preparation for plenums, party committee buro sessions and meetings of communists, and for summarizing and introducing the experience of party work. The influence of their commissions shall be expanded in resolving urgent problems of party leadership of the socio-economic development and education of the people.

The work style of party committee apparats and state and economic organs shall be persistently improved, and shall be constructed in consideration of the political and social processes taking place in the country. They shall ensure that all party committees, state and public institutions are completely accessible to the workers; establish constant control over the examination of their proposals to the administrative organs; and take strict measures to preclude attempts to encroach upon the citizens' lawful rights.

Party committees shall ensure further democratization of cadre work. They shall strive to ensure that cadre work is conducted openly at all levels on a contested, competitive bases, with the active participation of Party, Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and with the Soviets of the working collectives. Uncompromising struggle shall be waged with manifestations of bureaucratism and irresponsibility, and with indifference and apolitical attitudes; workers who are unable to organize matters in the new way shall be gotten rid of.

The responsibility of communists working in the Soviets and trade union organs shall be steadily increased—for the course of perestroika, for exercising their rights and authority in conditions of limitation of their functions with party committees, for solving urgent problems of socio-economic development of the working collectives and regions, for strengthening labor discipline and defending the interests of the workers, and for establishing the necessary production and domestic conditions for

them. Practical assistance shall be rendered in organizing the work of the Soviets of working collectives.

The Central Committee Buro, and party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms shall draw the proper lessons from the results of election of the People's Deputies of the USSR. Taking accumulated experience into consideration, they shall work out recommendations and define clear-cut positions for every party organization in conducting the forthcoming election campaign. The question of the tasks of the party commissions and organizations on preparations to hold elections for People's Deputies of the BSSR and local Soviets shall be examined in the fourth quarter of this year. The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro shall take measures to strengthen party influence on youth. Members of the Central Committee, Belorussian CP obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and party workers shall meet regularly with various youth groups and gain an in-depth understanding of their needs and concerns. Organizational forms shall be worked out for collective discussion of youth problems and for constructive dialog with young men and women on ways to perfect socialism, and on their responsibility for the fate of the nation. The activeness of party organizations and communists working in the Komsomol on ideological-political tempering of Komsomol members, and on assimilating ideological initiative in the youth environment shall be stepped up, and the international education of the upcoming generation shall be perfected. Questions of improving work with the young people shall be discussed at the Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum.

## 2. In the Area of Ideological Work.

The Plenum believes that the contemporary situation demands fundamental restructuring of the ideological activity of party organizations with respect to conditions of broad public dialog and the actual political struggle. In consideration of this, the Central Committee Buro and Belorussian CP obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are directed to work out concrete measures for raising the political culture of party members, ideological cadres, and all communists; to form among them the habits of working in conditions of democracy and glasnost, and the ability to quickly analyze real-life conflicts; to present well-reasoned arguments in defense of the party line; to give a decisive rebuff to extremists, demagogues and all kinds of time-servers. In order to raise the theoretical level and professional mastery of the ideological cadres, seminars shall be organized at universities of Marxism-Leninism and at the political education buildings of Belorussian CP obkoms; people's universities shall be opened for the study of the latest achievements in philosophical and sociological thinking, party history, and current questions on the economy, law, culture and inter-ethnic relations.

Completely concurring with the analyses and conclusions contained in the report with respect to dialog with

independent associations, the Plenum considers it necessary to ensure more active participation of leading cadres in explaining to the workers the goals which these associations are pursuing. Party committees and organizations shall decisively oppose groups and persons who speak out from positions of fractionalism and national exclusiveness, which lead to confrontation with the official organs; or which incite people, and especially young people, to destructive actions which create social tensions.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee supports the resolutions of the working collectives of the republic, the Soviets of People's Deputies, the Belorussian Republic Trade Union Council and other social organizations on the inadmissibility of setting up political structures in opposition to the CPSU.

The organizational work and political activity of the Central Committee Buro, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and Soviet organs shall be energized to raise the culture of inter-ethnic relations; for harmonious development of national-Russian bilingualism and expansion of the sphere of use of the Belorussian language; for more complete satisfaction of the national-cultural interests of the citizens who dwell in the republic; and for preservation of monuments of history and culture. And work shall be completed on the comprehensive programs "Rodnaya Mova" and "Spadchyna".

In providing ideological-political and moral education to the populace, and especially to the young people, the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro and party committees and organizations shall construct all their work on the basis of a comprehensive study of the contemporary situation and the peculiarities of specific groups of people and working collectives. Together with the republic sociological center they shall continually make in-depth studies and forecasts of public opinion for the purpose of actively influencing its formation and forestalling negative phenomena and trends on a timely basis.

Party organizations and all communist-members of creative societies shall focus their efforts to ensure a healthy political climate and to restructure work on establishing artistic values for the people. The people shall be educated in the spirit of profound respect for the national feelings, customs, language and culture of all the nations of the USSR. The ideology and practice of nationalism and chauvinism and their anti-popular essence shall be decisively exposed with well-reasoned arguments.

Party committees and organizations shall require that the leaders of the mass information media and communist-journalists display a highly-responsible approach to the ideological-political content of their publications and broadcasts. The pace of the reform of the political system and the further deepening of democracy shall be described from all angles; the work of party organizations shall be creatively presented; and the growth of new and progressive things shall be actively supported. The arrogance, the pursuit of sensationalism and the passion

for group interests that are noted in the practice of journalism shall be rooted out.

In the next two years, the Central Committee Buro and party obkoms shall, on the basis of the Minsk VPSH [Higher Party School] and evening universities of Marxism-Leninism, conduct refresher training for the journalistic cadres. When editorial collegia and editorships are established, wider use shall be made of the practice of rotating cadres between party and press organs. It is deemed expedient to introduce to the editorial collegia, representatives of the workers', party and Soviet aktiv. Reporting by editorial collegia to the working collectives shall become the practice. Decisive steps shall be taken to get rid of dilettantes, time-servers, and people who are incapable of understanding and reflecting in-depth the dialectic of renewal of social life.

Communist-leaders of law-enforcement organs—Comrades G.S. Tarnavskiy, V.A. Piskarev and V.S. Karavay—shall together with the Soviets of People's Deputies, social organizations and working collectives, take additional measures to intensify the struggle with crime and other negative phenomena and to strengthen public order.

### **3. In the Area of Political Support to Economic Reform and Acceleration of Socio-Economic Development.**

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro, party committees and organizations, and communist-leaders of the BSSR Council of Ministers, the Belorussian Trade Union, ministries and agencies—shall conduct an in-depth-analysis of the pace of resolution of urgent problems of socio-economic development. Increased demands shall be made on cadres for observing party, state, labor and technological discipline, and for strengthening order and organization at all links of production and management, and economic expenditure of material and financial resources. Special attention shall be devoted to realizing measures for satisfying the vital needs of the people, for restoring the health of the financial situation in the republic's national economy, for ensuring economically-sound relationships between wage increases and labor productivity, and strengthening monetary circulation.

A concrete program of actions shall be defined for preparation to transition by 1990 to new principles of republic self-financing and self-management. Diverse forms of socialist ownership of the means of production shall be developed. Party influence shall be increased over acceleration of scientific-technical progress and trying to increase the success rate of scientific research and democratization of scientific life.

A consistent line shall be taken to increase the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and their economic-planning organs, in administering the local economy and in reorienting the economy toward the solution of social problems. Purposeful work shall be carried out to



uncover existing reserves for effective use of the production and natural resources of every region. Strict control shall be provided over observance of the Law on Cooperation.

CPSU members, Comrades M.V. Kovalev, Yu.M. Khushainov, V.F. Kebich, N.A. Makayed and A.I. Trutnev are instructed to take measures to balance the monetary income and expenses of the populace, having ensured accelerated growth of production of consumer goods and services, and radical improvement in the organization of trade and domestic services.

In accordance with the resolutions of the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, party committees and organizations, communist-administrators of Soviet and economic organs—shall strive to achieve a stable supply to the populace of foodstuffs on the basis of transformation of economic relationships in the rural area, introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress, increasing production specialization, accelerated development of the processing sector of the agro-industrial complex, mutually-advantageous cooperation of urban and rural labor collectives, and persistent solution of the social problems of the countryside. The necessary conditions shall be created for the development of various forms of organization of agro-industrial production: kolkhozes and sovkhozes; agro-industrial combines, associations and agri-firms, and production systems; leasing collectives, peasant farms and their cooperatives, and the private subsidiary farms of the citizens. At the same time they shall proceed from the position that the principal basis for production of food resources are the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Party committees, communist-administrators of the BSSR Council of Ministers, ministries and agencies, oblast ispolkoms and gor-ray ispolkoms shall take additional measures to accelerate the rate of introduction of housing and projects for socio-cultural purposes, and to increase the production of local building materials. Toward these ends a more energetic search shall be

waged for new and non-traditional approaches to the solution of the given problems. Wider use shall be made of the experience of the working collectives at the Mozyr Land-Improvement Machinery Plant, the Minsk Automotive Plant, the Brest Tsvetotron Plant, the Rechitsk Hardware Plant, the Volkovysk Cement and Slate Association, and others.

Party control shall be increased over realization of measures to ensure the people's social security, especially for invalids, pensioners, mothers, families with many children and poor families; and increased assistance shall be provided to them at the expense of republic and local budgets and funds from enterprises. Urgent problems of improving medical services to the population and beefing up the material-technical base of healthcare shall be solved in a businesslike manner, enlisting the resources of all branches.

Communist-administrators of the BSSR Council of Ministers, ministries and agencies, the BSSR Academy of Sciences, local Soviets of People's Deputies, enterprises and organizations shall energize their work on improving the protection of the environment. A new economic mechanism for the use of natural resources shall be worked out. A system of measures shall be worked out in every working collective, branch, rayon, city and oblast, which provides for fundamental improvement of the ecological situation; for increasing the responsibility of cadres and the entire populace for rational use of the land and its riches; and for introducing to production resource-conserving and low-waste technology.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum calls upon party organizations, communists, Komsomol members and all the workers in the republic to actively join in the work on restructuring the various aspects of societal life. They shall affirm a truly creative attitude toward the cause everywhere, and shall strive for every worker to make a worthy contribution to implementing the general party line for accelerating the country's socio-economic development and the renewal of socialism.

**Firsov Votes Against Gramov for Head of State Committee on Sports***18001291a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Anatoliy Firsov: Why I Voted 'Against'"]

[Text] For 2 days, the Committee on Preservation of the People's Health and the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Youth Affairs discussed M. Gramov's candidacy for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee on Physical Culture and Sports. As a result of the discussions, the deputies voiced their opinion: not to recommend M. Gramov for the position of chairman.

"I also voted against Marat Gramov's candidacy," Anatoliy Firsov, USSR People's Deputy, honored master of sports of the USSR, told our correspondent. "And this is why. I have been in sports for dozens of years already. I know the shine of Olympic medals and the poverty of our physical-cultural stadiums. I know how human fates are twisted in pursuit of the highest results, how sports schools are bled white, how mass physical culture is emasculated. I also know that all these problems and deformations will not be solved by one stroke of a pen, by a few capably organized competitions, by regular victories in the Olympic games. Well-planned and thoughtful work is needed."

"Personally, none of the deputies who participated in discussing Gramov's candidacy for the post of chairman of the USSR state committee demanded immediately ready-made solutions from him. We met together to discuss the candidate's integral program, but, we did not hear such from him. Moreover, at first Gramov did not even want to meet the deputies for personal confirmation and intended to send his deputy to our committee meeting.

"When, nonetheless, he deigned to come and started answering our questions, even those who were not specialists could see his lack of preparation. And, I would say, incompetence as well. He did not give a complete and well-argued answer to virtually any question. Hastily, probably based on reference materials, not having investigated the heart of the matter, he for some reason conferred the merits of the schools and DOSAAF in solving certain physical cultural problems on USSR Goskomsport. He did not succeed and, perhaps, also did not want to tell the deputies about the Goskomsport budget and the expenses for maintaining the administrative apparatus. When I directly, several times already, asked him how he regarded reducing the number of administrative employees in sports, Gramov simply made it understood that they had no superfluous administrative workers in the apparatus.

"The discussion of his candidacy in overall complexity lasted more than 6 hours. It became clear from the candidate's answers that our sports and physical cultural movement does not need this kind of leader right now.

Therefore, I, as well as the overwhelming majority of deputies, voted against Gramov's candidacy.

**Sports Association to Give Profits to Children's Fund***18001291b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 2*

[Report by A. Stoyanov: "Contract for a Champion"]

[Text] The Sports Charity Association has been created through the efforts of Soviet sportsmen and the Children's Fund imeni Lenin.

Experience in cooperation between sportsmen and the fund already exists. Last December, a chess match between the world team and the USSR team was held in Spain. The entire proceeds, which consisted of 80,000 dollars, was given to the Children's Fund.

"Our association's task," said Garri Kasparov, world chess champion, at a press conference, "is to find the most favorable conditions for Soviet sportsmen with a foreign club that would like to conclude a contract with them. We will perform intermediary functions in the interests of the sportsman himself, and not in the interests of the departments, such as USSR Goskomsport does. Our only distinction from similar Western companies lies in the fact that the entire profit will be given to the Children's Fund."

Speaking at a press conference, Vyacheslav Fetisov, Europe's best hockey player, cited the following fact. While he was not included on the first team, he had to purchase the uniform with his own money. Even now, in Vyacheslav's words, the situation in sports has not changed. Incidentally, Andrey Chesnokov, the famous tennis player, confirmed this.

Our experienced sports masters do not really earn so little at prestigious competitions. The hard currency goes into a "common pot," and none of the sportsmen knows where it is spent later.

So, they decided that it would be better to send their earned money not for maintaining the USSR Goskomsport apparatus, but for invalid children and the construction of children's hospitals.

However, can a sportsman himself conclude a contract with foreign clubs?

"We are now living according to the principle: that not forbidden by law is permitted," answered lawyer Fedor Kunin. "It is not forbidden in our country for a person to conclude a contract with foreign companies for himself personally, if he is not bound by obligations to some labor collective." So it turned out, for example, Fetisov and two of his teammates, who have been discharged from the Army, will soon conclude contracts with NHL [National Hockey League] clubs.

### Documentary on Afghanistan Covers All Aspects

18001291c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 24 Jun 89 p 2

[Report by Yu. Antonov: "A Scar on the Memory"]

[Text] Afghan and Soviet documentary film makers have completed work on a joint film, "The Crimson Land."

They originally wanted to call the film "Scar." Its creators gave themselves a difficult task: talking about the war in Afghanistan as correctly and objectively as possible, at precisely the time when the "Afghan" wounds are cicatrizing. The pain of the losses and maimings are still so alive and strong, that it is not so easy to recall this without emotions.

Director Sh. Makhmudov and his colleagues from the Uzbekistan Documentary Film Studio have visited the war-singed, crimson Afghan land themselves several times. Kabul director V. Latisi is their co-author, enjoying full rights. They held a discussion about the difficult lot that has fallen to our soldiers. However, whereas previously in similar narrations the "hurrah-patriotic" motifs prevailed, in which that which was desired was often passed off as actual, in this film the search for a new, more profound and comprehensive approach to the interpretation of the Afghan theme is evident. Wars, in which our soldiers were not only heroes, but also victims. Whose? During the entire film, the authors attempt to find an answer to this question.

"For a long time, we only used two colors in covering Afghan events," says journalist V. Snegirev, the script-writer. "Everything concerning the opposition was

smeared with black, while bright colors were used to describe our military presence. Yet, after all, it was a question of a very complex regional conflict, which in one way or another reflected on the entire world policy of the 1980s. It was a question of tragedy for millions of people, including Soviets. The time has now come, casting aside political stereotypes and propagandistic stamps, to tell the truth about Afghanistan. We are not pretending to have the last word in truth in our work, but, rather, we are reflecting aloud and asking questions—of ourselves, of the audience, of our past and our future. The Soviet Union's participation in the Afghan War is one of the most tragic manifestations of the times of stagnation, and I would like to believe that our work will help interpret this painful stage in recent history."

The passionless movie camera fixes that which has happened in our life at one and the same time, sometimes joining the unjoinable. Sometimes, farce and tragedy. We see Suslov attaching the usual medal to Leonid Ilich's jacket. And here Brezhnev gives a medal to Ustinov... The tempestuous applause gives place to the monotone rap of hammers. These are our soldiers in Afghanistan, preparing coffins with the bodies of their military comrades to be sent to the Homeland. Can such a sharp shift of planes and moods be called a mere director's resourcefulness? Hardly. It was like that. We well remember the crying of mothers during the awards celebration. We will never forget the feeling of bitter shame from our own helplessness.

Indeed, the film's authors do not dot all of the "i's" and avoid categorical assessments. The viewer is given an opportunity to think for himself. The film is being released for wide screen...

### Republic Workers' Roundtable On Interethnic Relations

18300753 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 89  
Second Edition p 4

[Report by A. Chernenko and A. Chernyak: "USSR: Our Common Home. Workers and Peasants Around PRAVDA's 'Round Table'"]

[Excerpts] Gathered today around our "round table" are working people, those who stand at the sources of the country's might and well-being. They are: Kh. Kh. Gutov (Kabardian), tractor field cultivation team leader on the Krasnyy Kavkaz Collective Farm, Baksan Rayon, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR; V. N. Leybel (German), mechanic, pilot plant of the Uralenergotsvetmet Association, Sverdlovsk; M. G. Safiullin (Tatar), pourer, Kazan Motor Production Association, Tatar ASSR; I. D. Ruchenchin (Ukrainian), scraper winch operator at the 50- Letiya Oktyabrya Mine of the Khlorvinil Association, Kalush, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast; L. I. Davydova (Byelorussian), seamstress, Komsomolka Association, Minsk; U. M. Zakirov (Uzbek), team leader, Tashkent Housing Construction Combine No. 3; S. K. Zhumagaliyev (Kazakh), tractor team leader, Bulagskiy State Farm, Kokchetav Rayon, Kokchetav Oblast; G. N. Kurtanidze (Georgian), corer team leader, Tsentrolit Plant, Tbilisi; I. Z. Kotorobay (Moldavian), machine-tool adjuster, Kishinev Tractor Plant Production Association; U. Yu. Khaas (Estonian), cabinet-maker, Standart Scientific-Production Furniture Association, Tallinn; N. T. Stifkin (Russian), repair mechanic, Kompressor Plant, Moscow; F. Sh. Tazartukova (Circassian), executive secretary, international contacts commission, AUCCTU.

The "round table" was chaired by PRAVDA editor-in-chief V. G. Afanasyev.

V. Afanasyev: I think the participants in previous "round tables" will not be offended if we say that this is one of the most important ones, because throughout our country's history the opinion of the working class has always been decisive.

It is no secret that some young, immature people, disoriented by perplexing events, have been trying to question the real values of socialism. But has socialism's potential been exhausted? After all, our party, its leader, and all of us are talking about renovating socialism. So who is pushing us towards the destruction of the ideals of socialism? Where is he leading? Don't the workers cherish the ideals of socialism?

M. Safiullin: They do. There is an old parable. An old man summons his grown-up sons and says, "My sons, try and break this broom." The sons, though adult men, try but are unable to break it. Then the father loosens the broom and begins to break one stalk at a time. "There you are," he says. "You can see for yourselves that if you are as united and cohesive no enemy will be able to overcome you."

The same is true of our country and our state. Recent events are causing alarm and bewilderment among working people. Alarm for the unity of our house. Bewilderment that the nation has been unable to protect the lives of innocent people during flareups of interethnic discord. I would like to state at once that in Tataria ethnic issues are not so acute, and even our notorious Kazan youth gangs, which have gained such infamous prominence all over the Soviet Union, did not originate on an ethnic basis. However, to say that we have no interethnic problems at all would be a profound mistake.

V. Afanasyev: But I think something is already being done in Tataria?

M. Safiullin: Yes. In Kazan, out of 340, I think, children's establishments, in 120 instruction is already being introduced in the national language.

And one more thing. There are some seven million Tatars in the Soviet Union. A minority of them live within Tataria, but those who live outside our republic frequently appeal to us: Comrades, help us with literature, with textbooks, help us to acquire cultural and spiritual values. But we haven't even got a film studio on a par with, say, the Lithuanian or Estonian studios... Nor a radio center capable of ensuring reception of Tatar Radio broadcasts in different parts of the country... Such large cities as Naberezhnyye Chelny or Nizhnekamsk have no Tatar language city newspapers. Nor are there any papers in the Chuvashian language, although there are some 300,000 Chuvashs living in Tataria.

F. Tazartukova: I would like to note that the very essence of industrial economic cooperation, when industries are interlinked, when regions are interlinked, when republics are interlinked, gives special significance to ethnic-Russian bilingualism. Yes, one must know one's native language! But learning Russian is just as important. Otherwise we may find ourselves in the same situation as the builders of the Tower of Babel.

I am Circassian. I cherish my language, but I also regard as a tremendous advantage of mine that I can use Russian to speak with representatives of any of more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups, with people from any republic. This is a great gift! Moreover, it was primarily the Russian language that built a little bridge for each one of us to the multinational culture of the world. I simply can't understand what there is to debate... My concerns are about disparities in the distribution of the social product and disparities in living standards. We have been remiss in working out state-wide social norms.

U. Khaas: At my work we have people of 14 nationalities, but there are no "ethnic problems" among the workers. In fact, we think that it is to someone's advantage to create a situation of ethnic discord. Certain forces are operating against perestroika. With time much will be explained and become apparent. Today, however, the main thing, in my view, is the economy. If our stores were full ethnic issues wouldn't be so acute. But when

people suffer from shortages of goods and food, when your area is being debilitated by a large number of enterprises and is no longer able to withstand their onslaught, if demographic deformations occur, then no measures will help.

Now concerning national languages. We passed an ESSR law, and there is much talk on this score and criticism levelled against us. But I would like to make the following point: The law has a paragraph stating that any person addressing state agencies must get an answer in his native language. A Russian in Russian, an Estonian in Estonian. That is why we demand that people working in the public domain, in state organizations, in health care, should know both the national language and Russian. Can this harm anyone?

Another issue is what relations between regions will be like if they convert to full cost accounting [khozraschet]. I consider that these should be commercial relations. We sell and buy, not like our ministries used to say "We give," while the locals would say "We get"... The central agencies were more like distribution, not planning and organizing bodies. I think every region should tackle all its problems independently, on the spot. The all-Union agencies should only coordinate the entire economy of the Soviet Union, its social, foreign and defense policies...

I am convinced that when enterprises assume full control of everything they will know what they need, how to trade with profit, where it is best to acquire raw materials, where it is more profitable to sell their produce...

Working people have no use for ethnic conflicts. However, they can occasionally appeal to a person suffering from social injustice... He must be given the opportunity to work and earn normally. Alas, nowadays many people just report to work and just collect wages. The economy is sustained by probably only one-third of the workforce. Unfortunately, they represent the old guard working out their last years and in effect producing the entire output, while wage levelling robs them... Young people see this and don't want to find themselves in the same kind of situation. That is where the roots of many troubles lie. Cost accounting [khozraschet] and self-government [samoupravleniye] are the two things that can help us. [passage omitted]

**V. Afanasyev:** But here is the question: What is the cause of the upsurge of specifically nationalistic feelings in some people, with negative attitudes towards other peoples?... And what, as a matter of principle, is the attitude of workers towards this?

**I. Kotorobay:** Quite negative in virtually the overwhelming majority...

**V. Afanasyev:** So where does it all come from?

**I. Kotorobay:** There are many causes: language, ecology, supplies of food, housing and consumer goods, and so on. Life gets more and more complex each day, not

simpler. Yes, those informal organizations have extremist forces which take advantage of our troubles and the grave situation. In fact, it is often they who create such situations. And it is they who declare—sometimes extremely forcefully—that the troubles are due to newcomers in our parts. That, they say, is why things have gotten worse. Although, if we speak frankly of the housing problem, we must concede that there is a grain of truth in this. It is very grave in the republic and at our plant it's downright bad. We have more than 5,000 workers, of whom some 1,900 are on the waiting list! I myself have been on the waiting list for 22 years already, and I still live in a dormitory. Is this normal? We are told that Moldavia is an agrarian republic, there were few workers, so we invited many specialists from all regions of the country. That is so. But that was when the tractor plant just came into existence. Then our own specialists, our local personnel began to appear. But specialists still continued to come in from elsewhere, and by hook or by crook, writing letters, and often jumping the waiting lists, they would get housing. Those specialists, in turn, would be sure to invite someone else. And so it went on for many years.

**V. Afanasyev:** But that happened everywhere. Two hundred meters from here, in Moscow we can find the same thing... Native Muscovites living in communal apartments while newcomers move into separate housing.

**I. Kotorobay:** So let's put an end to the absurd planning of manpower transfer. We're the ones who create our own problems. But there are other absurdities too. We had what I think is a strange resolution adopted. If you read it carefully there is a paragraph that says that if communists take part in unsanctioned meetings they will be brought to account, up to and including expulsion from the party. But how, in that case, is one to combat extremism? Discipline is discipline, and I personally have never attended those meetings or rallies. Because I have been in the party for many years and want to remain a communist. But it is absurd, you understand...

**V. Afanasyev:** I think the resolution was passed as a formality. But speaking as a communist to a communist, it isn't enough to participate in a meeting. It's necessary to speak out at it from the positions of the party that launched perestroika.

**Unattributed remark:** Yes, and then try and prove what stand you took.

**U. Zakirov:** True enough... Bureaucracy is killing us. But what if we take a look at who those informals actually are? They are, for the most part, our children, our students. The thing is not just extremism: Our children have matured! Young people have always been characterized by impetuosity. If we communists, we veteran workers aren't there, if we don't appeal to them, then others come with their offers...

Language barriers? Everyone is saying, let's introduce an official language statute. That is why passions have flared. But these problems can't be solved at a single

blow. Russian is the language of interethnic communication. That is axiomatic! But it is also axiomatic that national languages are unique. Haste is inappropriate in resolving these extremely complex problems. Because it's necessary to set up entire institutes of expert translators, it's an entirely new machinery. Our informals say that after the third year all courses in institutes of higher learning are only in Russian. But perhaps the trouble is that our own scientists, our own instructors, not Moscow, have failed to prepare the needed material? But in advocating linguistic statehood, aren't we raising a barrier for ourselves? That is also an issue. One must, after all, know a language in which we can have all our literature for higher learning. And that language is Russian. Take what our Soviet Army officers are saying. They have a language barrier, and a very serious one! Given the complexity of modern weapons and equipment, that is also a problem. Comrades here have said that their regions were shortchanged, their traditions curtailed. All that is so. We also went through stagnation, but we mustn't forget about problems on the scale of the state. We can't curtail its interests. Everything should be done within reasonable limits. By giving vent to perhaps purely selfish demands an ethnic philistine dooms everyone to defeat: the state as a whole and his own people. Having broken out of stagnation the country must develop uniformly. What can the working class do today? The task of the working class—of me personally!—is to prevent the country from slipping into interethnic division.

**G. Kurtanidze:** I will start with a letter which I received three days ago from a comrade, whom I don't know, who once, in 1935, worked in Georgia as a pattern-maker at my own Tsentrolit Plant. He asks me to write whether his comrades are alive or not... Here is the last paragraph from his letter: "In general, I have a good impression of Georgia. Thank you!"

For centuries dozens of nationalities have lived in our region. Magazines and newspapers come out in, I think, seven or eight languages. There are as many languages in schools. At our plant there is a school where Russians and Georgians study. Thanks to that Russian children know Georgian. They can learn Georgian in their contacts with each other: in play or simply in conversations. But sometimes we may be sitting in a hall, holding some meeting or lecture, and if the lecture starts in Georgian Russian comrades and workers of other nationalities get up and go. If the lecture starts in Russian everyone remains. I think if you live in a republic you should also respect its language. You may not like it, but you should respect it.

There are no apparent linguistic or other tensions in worker collectives. The emotions of young people, students, some intellectuals and scientific workers are, apparently, a more serious factor. But however high passions may run, we should all, I feel, have avoided what happened on April 9. It will take a long time to heal that wound, and people will remember that tragic day.

As for workers, we got together four or five times, we tried to prevent or stop outbursts, but were not immediately successful... But when the city and its working class assumed responsibility for maintaining law and order and the curfew was lifted it immediately became apparent that the workers of Tbilisi are a great organizing force. The only thing is to treat it with confidence and respect.

**V. Leybel:** Comrades, I represent Germans, of whom, as of today, there are more than two million all over the Soviet Union. The entire history of Russian Germans is inseparable from the history of the Russian state and the Soviet state. Our forebears took part in the Patriotic War of 1812 against the French. Among them were Decembrists and scientists. Germans took part in all revolutions: we could recall the names of Lieutenant Shmidt and Nikolay Bauman...

But then this misfortune befell our people: We were declared enemies, and within 24 hours our republic was eliminated...

**V. Afanasyev:** PRAVDA wrote about this.

**V. Leybel:** I would like to thank PRAVDA, which was the first to raise this issue. Today the issue is on the agenda and is being considered in the aspect of restoring German autonomy. We all live in different parts of the Soviet Union. Most are concentrated in Kazakhstan. Our language, our customs, our individuality are, alas, dissipating. They are dissipating because insufficient attention is given to fostering those traditions, our language, our culture and art. Have any of you ever heard German songs on the radio? In Kazakhstan, yes, maybe. And that's it. Will justice with respect to the Soviet Germans be restored? I personally cannot say that Russian people have any national antipathy towards me, a German. I agree with the comrade from "Kompressor": Russians do not have the virus of chauvinism. But in some people, who have only vague notions of history, there remains some latent prejudice.

**F. Tazartukova:** I think that this is more likely a case of (quite understandable, of course) prejudice... We are all susceptible to stereotypes... But we once got together in Leningrad, and a comrade from Kazakhstan said: You know, we have a problem: Germans are leaving, the best workers. We have learned a lot from them. And it's a great pity that they are leaving.

**V. Leybel:** So it's apparently necessary to halt the process, it's necessary to really resolve issues, not put them off endlessly as we have until now. Because we are losing our culture, our ties, our language... The question of creating autonomy must be tackled. We should set up national theaters, a school system. Indeed, in the town where I live there is no contempt for Germans. There are German school principals and directors of large enterprises. That is, there is no oppression, no problems. But I want to draw attention specifically to the cultural problem. Twenty years ago we had only a barrack instead of a club, but the library in that barrack had shelves filled

with books in German. You can't find that now. No one specifically had those books removed, but they have simply disappeared somewhere.

Many people claim family reunification as the reason for leaving. I think we could reunite right here in the USSR. I am sure! If there was a cultural seat, a center, people wouldn't be fleeing. The material aspect is not the main one. There is also the moral one—Motherland. But reunification is possible right here, in the land of socialism, and we would not be losing good specialists who are leaving us every year.

**V. Afanasyev:** I think this is a very interesting thought. [passage omitted]

**I. Ruchenchin:** And yet it seems to me that the most persistent issues of interethnic relations are rooted in economic problems. In general, many issues have been erupting today because the economy isn't functioning at the level people are demanding. I fully agree with the comrades calling for cost accounting [khozraschet]. I can show this with the example of my own Khlorvinil Association. Last year, whereas our plan called for 2.5 million rubles' profit, after converting to the first model, and then to the second model, we ended the year with a profit of 10.3 million rubles! This speaks for itself: cost accounting [khozraschet] is a good form of work. There is no place for conflicts among workers. A team simply won't tolerate the presence of a drunkard, slob or do-nothing windbag in its midst. We now have 15,000 positions, but try and find a job... We now handle personnel problems not as before. We don't look for "any" worker. We have our technical and vocational schools and train worthy people. We have also adopted new ways of organizing production. We have given complete autonomy to eight plants of the association. We opened up bank accounts for them, and they now operate on a self-supporting production basis [samook-upayemost], each plant... There is plenty of room for creativity. There is no time for demagoguery or nationalistic slogans. Work is our concern.

**V. Afanasyev:** I think that we all agree that, despite our problems, our peoples share a common destiny. And if we want us and our children to have a future we must do everything for our union to grow stronger, for our republics and their ties to grow stronger. If we pull at only one thing or another we will fail. Yes, there are many problems: social, moral, economic... They are a major cause of dissatisfaction, and dissatisfaction can turn the flow of emotions into any channel. If a rabid nationalist gets up and says, "I'll solve these problems if you do as I say!" some people will be prepared to do so in search of a solution. Thus demagoguery sometimes works. However, it is the responsibility and strength of the working person that he should stand up and say, "Wait, dear person, first tell us how you intend to resolve these problems, at whose expense, and then we'll decide whether to follow you or not." Unfortunately, we often just stand and listen and remain silent. Meanwhile he keeps making promises. Moreover, sometimes he may

have heard that the raykom, obkom or party CC are preparing some decisions, so he hurries to make noises first. Skimming the cream! Thus he gains prestige: see, we fought, and now a decision has been passed.

But let us not oversimplify matters. Ethnic issues, problems of culture and language cannot be automatically resolved by solving only social problems. Ethnic culture has a significance of its own. When a person doesn't have to worry about food and clothing he may sometimes think more about spiritual values than a hungry person. So if we place economic and cultural issues on the back burner they may deteriorate even more. That is why, while tackling social problems, it is also necessary to tackle problems of language, culture, protection of historical monuments—everything involving the very concept of PEOPLE. At the same time it would, apparently, be unfair and even stupid to claim that in questions of, say, language it is all "Moscow's fault." Are the Russian people to blame because a national language has lost ground somewhere?

Yes, I agree that there are bureaucrats in union ministries who don't do their job and do stupid things, but such bureaucrats harm Estonians and Russians equally. I allow that there may be quite a few such bureaucrats... We studied this problem and have come to some firm conclusions: Union ministries and administrations are even more dominant in the Russian Federation. In the republics at least the local Central Committees restrain departmental aggression somewhat, but in the Russian Federation those large union ministries sometimes act like pirates.

What we need today is not the apportioning of troubles and setbacks but CONSOLIDATION. That is the order of the day. And I think that our discussion on the eve of the Central Committee plenum will help.

### **U.S. Studies, Practice of Conflict Management Viewed**

18070744

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 14 August 1989 publishes in its second edition on page 7 a 2,400-word article by its own correspondent A. Lopukhin, datelined Washington and Moscow, and entitled "Is a Conflict Getting Sharper? Call in a Specialist!" He describes the study and practice of conflict management in the United States, and recommends it as an example for the Soviet Union.

Lopukhin notes that the study of conflict management and resolution has become widespread in American universities. Furthermore, academic specialists offer their services in resolving real-life conflicts: "interpersonal, group, industrial, ecological, ethnic and international conflicts." Describing the George Mason University Center for the Study and Resolution of Conflicts in Fairfax, Va., he notes that the center awards MA degrees in conflict management. Such programs also exist at 150 other American colleges and universities. He describes

the profession of a "conflict manager" as requiring "good sense and deep understanding;" academic programs are interdisciplinary, including "law, sociology, anthropology, politics, economics, international relations, pedagogy, psychology, philosophy, and of course, conflictology [konfliktologiya]." He notes that the George Mason center has been called on to help resolve conflicts by "the private sector, various groups of the population, local, state and national governments, and even the UN."

A large part of the article consists of interviews with Professors Richard Rubenstein and John Bjorton of the George Mason center. Rubenstein tells Lopukhin that although conflict managers deal with the most varied situations, they use the same "mechanism" and "theoretical approach": a "problem-solving process," seeking the causes of the conflict, and "defining the demands and values" of the parties. He distinguishes between a conflict manager and a judge or arbitrator, in that a conflict manager has no authority to impose a settlement; he seeks a "nonviolent solution." He goes on to stress that "any settlement demands either a compromise or some sort of concession from all participants in the conflict." Rubenstein states that most conflicts have their origins, not in disputes over limited resources, but in "deep cultural values and human demands: the feeling of security, social recognition, and self-consciousness." Rubenstein describes the conflict manager's role as bringing the two sides "face to face," helping them "to move from hostility to an analysis of the situation," and helping them "to define their mutual interrelations and to understand the goals they are pursuing." Then, by "clarifying the essence of the problem," the sides finally arrive at the stage of "working out a policy or structural changes necessary to resolve the conflict."

Professor Bjorton tells Lopukhin, "In the new concept a conflict is considered resolved only when all the sides in the conflict recognize it as completely over with, when the real causes of disagreement or violent clashes are uncovered and removed." Lopukhin notes that Bjorton is not only a "pioneer of the use of conflictology in practice. He is now working out an entirely new direction—prevention, a sort of conflict prophylaxis."

Lopukhin concludes by stating that the Soviet Union's "obvious backwardness in conflictology and its use must be liquidated as soon as possible." He suggests "creating independent research groups in conflict management, and beginning to train specialists (for instance, in schools of psychology) in the practical prevention and resolution of the most varied—large and small—conflicts, which arise not only 'over there' but also in our own country."

#### Declassified Crime Statistics 'Only a First Step'

18001364 Moscow CHELOVEK I ZAKON in Russian  
No 6, Jun 89 (signed to press 20 Apr 89) pp 32-35

[Article by A. Larin, doctor of juridical sciences, professor: "To What Statistics Attest"]

[Text] The classification and declassification of crime statistics are political actions. In our country in the

1920's these statistics were published and discussed in the open press. However, an end was put to this in the early 1930's. The reasons are understandable. Crime and legality traded places. Prisons and concentration camps were filled with millions of honest citizens and criminals vested with power meted out punishment. All this was shrouded in mystery.

During subsequent periods secrecy made it possible to keep up a false semblance of well-being in the state of crime.

Data on criminal statistics, which not long ago were still kept under the rubber stamp of "top secret" along with information on nuclear and missile weapons, have now been extracted from steel safes and published in the press (IZVESTIYA, Nos 40 and 46, 1989). The mass reader became familiar with what had been known to especially trusted specialists, compilers of reports for a narrow circle, and fabricators of comforting formulas, such as: "The appearance of tendencies toward a decline in the rates of increase in individual types of crimes is not ruled out in the future."

Present publications represent a significant step in the establishment of glasnost. But only a step. It is well known that the more one receives, the more one wants. Now we know the truth, but not yet the whole truth. However, we would like to know the whole truth. Not only about individual types of crimes, but also about all the others reflected in statistical reporting. Not only in some, but in all, republics, krais, and oblasts. And not during 2 years, but, to start with, at least during the last 10 years. Along with data on the number of committed crimes it is no less important to know against how many people criminal proceedings were instituted, how many of them were acquitted, how many were convicted and with what punitive measures, what were the demographic characteristics of the convicted persons, and so forth. Moreover, in order to get to know crime and its causes and to affect these causes, statistical information on such related phenomena as drunkenness, drug abuse, prostitution, child neglect, lack of provision with housing and living wages, and so forth is needed.

Of course, such a problem cannot be solved on newspaper or journal pages. A special publication is needed. Incidentally, beginning from the past century "Svody statisticheskikh svedeniy po delam ugolovnykh" [Compilations of Statistical Information on Criminal Cases] were annually published in pre-revolutionary Russia. "Compilations" contained a wealth of information on crimes and the persons that committed them. With the present development of polygraphy and computer science similar "compilations" could be published quarterly.

It should be noted, however, that the truism "statistics know everything" contains a certain exaggeration. About 98 percent of the bribes and from 56 to 94 percent (depending on the place of perpetration) of embezzlements, as well as a substantial share of other crimes,



remain unrecorded, constituting so-called latent (invisible) crimes. However, criminologists have already learned to determine the parameters of the latent part of some crimes. The development of research in this direction can ensure full quantitative crime characteristics. As long as this is not achieved, at least two pressing aspects of the problem remain. Impunity of criminals and ineffectiveness of criminal law comprise one of them. Insufficiency of information for a proper organization of the work of the militia, procuracy, and courts is the second.

Crimes become latent, because not all witnesses and victims report on crimes known to them and militia and procuracy workers do not always make proper efforts so that they themselves may uncover crimes. Moreover, they conceal a part of the received reports on crimes. Approximately 1 million complaints about the concealment of crimes in the system of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs were verified and confirmed. This points to the scale of these offences, as well as to the resolution to put an end to them.

We would like to note, however, that resolution alone is insufficient and the problem cannot be solved by measures of disciplinary or even criminal responsibility. First of all, it is necessary to eliminate the constant incentive prompting militia workers to falsify record data—evaluation of their work according to the infamous criteria of crime dynamics and exposure. Now every, the least bit trained, lawyer will say that a real (not on paper) rise or decline in the crime level depends more on economic, ideological, and socio-psychological causes than on law-enforcement activity and that exposure is determined by the ratio of the "carrying" capacity of the militia, courts, and procuracy and their load.

Nevertheless, in practice, during a regular discussion of militia or procuracy work, as before, the overbearing question is heard: "Why is a rise in crime permitted?" Or the same, but seemingly ennobled: "The state of crime in the rayon (oblast or republic) worries us." The only method of calming authorities on this score, which the militia and procuracy have at their disposal, is to falsify the record, which, judging from the 1 million confirmed complaints, occurs constantly and everywhere.

Unfit criteria should be replaced with new ones, which would make it possible to evaluate the work of the militia, procuracy, and courts according to their contribution to strengthening law and order. However, such an approach needs the development of methods of measuring the labor-intensiveness of assignments and labor productivity at all law-enforcement levels—from current investigation activity to the social readaptation of released persons after serving a sentence. This in itself requires a considerable volume of research. However, there is no other way. Without this it is impossible to introduce order in law-enforcement activity.

The published indicators of individual types of crimes give rise to thoughts. True, limited information forces us to be satisfied with hypotheses alone. However, even a

hypothesis is a step along the road to truth. First of all, let us pay attention to the spasmodic rise in indicators. Usually, inertness and stability are inherent in large-scale social processes. But here we see how during 1 year the number of murders increased by 14.1 percent, of premeditated serious bodily injuries, by 31.6 percent, of robberies and burglaries, by more than 44.4 percent, and so forth.

Perhaps these figures reflect not a real rise, but a fuller record of crimes? Probably, not. In any event, such an explanation will not do for some changes. Crimes leading to death or bodily injuries are always recorded more or less fully. Apparently, there was, in fact, a sharp rise in the level of violent crime, that is, something unordinary not characteristic of a calm social development. However, here is a question: Is it possible to call the period experienced by us calm?

Murders, bodily injuries, and rapes, especially those committed on the street where an outstripping rise is recorded, mostly occur owing to drunkenness. Drunks or alcohol cravers also commit most robberies, burglaries, and thefts.

The mechanical reduction in alcohol production and sale several years ago sharply lowered the level of violent crime. However, the fundamental causes of drunkenness remained. Owing to them, home distillation of vodka, consumption of technical and toilet alcohol-containing liquids, and illegal trade in alcoholic beverages began to rise. As a result, the pendulum of crime, bypassing the lower point, went up.

Other indicators also give grounds for questions. For example, if murders on streets increased by 35.6 percent and serious bodily injuries, even by 67 percent, how to explain the "lag" of hooliganism, which increased by only 4.4 percent? The unclear description of hooliganism in the law can be one of the reasons: "Premeditated actions grossly violating public order and expressing obvious disrespect for society... and noted... for exceptional cynicism or special impudence." However, where is the distinction between a gross and a simple violation, between obvious and implied disrespect, between exceptional and ordinary cynicism, and between special and ordinary impudence? During the implementation of a repressive criminal policy such vagueness made it possible to interpret hooliganism broadly and often harmless mischievous actions and family scandals resulted in harsh punishment. Well, next, apparently, there was a rush to another extreme. With the use of the same vagueness of the law hooliganism began to be dismissed as a trifle. There is no getting away from hooligans not only in Kazan, but also in other cities. The increase in murders and in other offences against the person occurs on this basis.

The inflation, shortage of many goods, and rising contrasts in the way of life of citizens with a low and a high income inevitably increase mercenary crimes. Thus, it is not accidental that thefts of state property increased by

25 percent and of private property, by 36.6 percent. However, why, at the same time, did the indicators of embezzlements of state and public property committed through appropriation, squandering, and abuse of official positions not rise, but, conversely, decline by 9.8 percent? In my opinion, neither does the statistical indicator reflect the true state of affairs here. It is a matter of crimes quite complex in the method of perpetration, which are hushed up. "White collars," that is, officials, who often include managers of enterprises and organizations, commit them. Therefore, such cases are complex and labor-intensive and often arouse the opposition of corrupted representatives of local authorities. Furthermore, courts have recently increased the requirements on the quality of investigation of these cases, whereas the turnover of investigating personnel brought about by difficult working conditions leads to a shortage of specialists in the investigation of such crimes. Thus, in practice, there is simply no one to deal with "white-collar" crime. In my opinion, the decline in the indicator of these crimes in reporting augurs their significant outbreak in the very near future.

The indicator of fraud, which seemingly dropped by 9.8 percent, is also characteristic in this respect. I would connect this with some new manifestation of antisocial activity, for example, with the "thimble" game. This occupation brings the player and his group of assistants several thousands of rubles a day. According to law "thimbles" are qualified as a game of chance, which involves a monetary fine negligible as compared with the easy profit. Meanwhile, it does not have the main attribute of a game of chance: mutual risk and equal chances for losing and winning. Only the accomplice of the "thimble player"—the decoy duck—wins from him. However, the simpleton only loses and, usually, on quite a large scale. The "game" is based on the abuse of trust and deception—signs of fraud appearing in the criminal codes of all the Union republics. For some reason, however, precisely this type of fraud has been removed from under the operation of criminal law. It can be assumed that that is why many swindlers have been retrained into "thimble players." But criminal statistics do not care about them.

It seems to me that something similar also occurs with speculation. The shortage of clothing, footwear, and foodstuffs in the country always leads to a rapid spread of this crime. But in reporting the indicator of rise is very modest—4.3 percent! One of the possible explanations lies in the fact that many cooperatives, which have appeared recently, buy up goods in stores and after non-labor-intensive operations (such as applying printed pictures on T-shirts or polyethylene bags) resell them at triple the price. People, who thus far have engaged in speculation in its artless traditional forms, also enter this sphere willingly.

The rise in crime indicators should not serve as a cause for panicky proposals to toughen punitive measures and to lower the requirements for the provability of the accusation. Historical experience shows that the severity of punishment does not correct, but contributes to, a repetition of crimes. Prisons and colonies have always been and to this day remain schools for an exchange of experience and for an improvement in criminals' skills and a sphere of degradation of the individual. Lowering the requirements for provability leads to the conviction of innocent people and to judicial mistakes, which in their consequences are equal to grave crimes. On the other hand, a decline in statistical crime indicators is not a basis for weakening the fight against crime, because a departure from the principle of inevitability of responsibility with respect to crimes, which today are not very widespread or do not present a great public danger, can contribute to the development of and rise in the most dangerous forms of crime.

An open and full publication of criminal statistics will increase the efficiency of scientific research. For sociologists data on crime will serve as indicators of in-depth basic social phenomena and processes. For jurists criminal statistics will be the initial material for investigating the causes of crime, developing efficient measures of effect on these causes, and efficiently organizing the work of the militia, procuracy, and courts.

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### Estonian Deputy Tiit Made Accused of Plagiarism

18001408 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 29 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Toomas Alatalu: "When the Author Is a 'Fake'"]

[Text] Here I've been working far from home for a year already. However, even here, thousands of kilometers away from my native Estonia, I regularly receive republic newspapers and magazines. I rejoice over the changes, and I willingly explain in detail the essence of what is going on in our country and our republic to my colleagues and local audience. But one novelty did not make me happy, to put it mildly. I learned with bitter surprise of the nomination as a candidate and the subsequent election of Tiit Made as People's Deputy...

In my opinion he is not the right person—in terms of his moral qualities—to express and defend the interests of the people.

I shall cite one of the documents, which lay in my already bulging folder while I was absent. On 20 April 1988, ESSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] informed the USSR People's Control Committee: "An inter-departmental expert commission established by ESSR Goskomizdat, having studied the question, has come to the conclusion that the opinion of Toomas Alatalu coincides with the truth: it is not a question of the author's work." They came to the given conclusion as early as 22 September 1987, and namely, that Tiit Made cannot be considered the author of the handbook "International Organizations" (490 p) published in 1985; for it is a question of translations from various sources.

I have had to prove this fact twice. The first review (which was set forth as a letter according to the editor's wishes) appeared in the magazine AYA PLUSS (No 13 for 1986), but was refuted by the publisher in the same issue. Then I prepared a 430-page comparative analysis of texts and published a new review in EESTI KOMMUNIST (No 5 for 1987). T. Made replied in both instances by taking me to court for slander. What a commission!

But let us cite the indicated document once again: "Discussion of the grounds for the accusation made by Toomas Alatalu against Tiit Made, which he made public, was accomplished at the same time and separately..." and was transferred to 11 institutions. They took it up, I'm telling the truth, one at a time—most of them in order to put a stop to this story, but it was basically a lie among the rest.

Let us ask—where was the fact made public that T. Made is NOT the author of a respectable book; although he himself asserts this on page 13, and his name is displayed prominently on the cover of the book? This has not yet been done, nor has the undeservedly earned honorarium

been claimed of Made (The difference between an author's and a translator's honorarium is about 3,000 rubles).

Incidentally this was promised in an inquiry from Moscow on 23/12/1987, with an addendum that the publishing house is prepared to resort to assistance from the people's court. But a month later—26 January 1988—I was informed differently: "The administration of the publishing house, having consulted with lawyers, has come to the conclusion that on the basis of the law it is not possible to win the case; and therefore, the publishing house has decided to decline to present the materials in court."

And so here they simply want to propose eliminating the court altogether, and "to farm out" the decision by means of an agreement between the leadership and its own lawyers. Upon the insistence of the ESSR Procuracy something was nevertheless returned—on 16 May 1988 (although they made the obligation on 6 October 1987), the editor of the book was deprived of one month's wages. Is that worth informing the public about?!

Meanwhile, the newspaper SIRP YA VASAR, on 17 July, 18 September and 2 October 1987, had published three satirical articles...about me.

And now I will take the liberty of returning to 1981. As the only (diplomaed) Latin American specialist in the republic, I wrote a review of T. Made's book, "Latinskaya Amerika." Tallinn newspapers refused to publish that review (It appeared in Tartu and Moscow), but RAHVA HAAL returned the review with an addendum in the form of an insulting letter of 7 pages, signed in the name of the "author-compilers" of the Eesti Raamat Publishing House, by Tiit Made. This group had made itself known before—it is not hard to notice that the very same people appear on radio and TV, and write commentaries on foreign policy; moreover, they are the kind of people who are not too humble to acknowledge that in actual fact their specialties are far removed from foreign policy... Persistent assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, translating the opinions of others and stating them as one's own has long since become the working method and the source of supplementary income for a number of journalists. In 1984, the publication, under another name, of the major portion of an article by A. Bovin, became a very famous scandal. The Estonian CP Central Committee even convened a meeting on this account; but it was characteristic that the newspaper editors present remained silent, when "Bovin-2" affirmed that, he said, evidently he and Aleksandr Yevgenyevich had copied from one and the same source; but they began to speak out only when those who were washing their dirty linen in public began to be condemned.

With such an attitude, of course, it is not surprising that officially, not a single republic foreign-policy commentator "noticed" the plagiarism in the handbook, "Mezhdunarodnie organizatsii" [International Organizations].

However, it turns out that plagiarism had been noted in Made's previous book, "Energiya i syryo" [Energy and Raw Materials] (1984) as well.

In general, during the years 1980-1984, T. Made was publishing two books a year—and that was at a time when other authors were being told that there was no paper. The topics of "his" books are the most varied—from the market, to sources of energy; and the total number of pages was 1,870. Naturally, in order to write a single page, one would have to read dozens... And we must add 490 pages of the "author's" encyclopedia ("International Organizations") at the end of which a breath-taking bibliography of 900 books and magazines is listed. Logically the question arises, how long was the work-day of the then-deputy-director of the Information Institute, who used to decide questions at work, far removed from those which he described in his books?

And at the very same time various commissions, which set up the illegal payment of large sums of money, would often visit the institute. For example, for typewritten manuscripts—although just what was printed, I have not managed to ascertain—T. Made sanctioned the unauthorized payment of over 3,000 rubles, for the typing of materials which, in turn were "illegally destroyed." For some reason the state did not require the repayment of this money, but Made received severe punishment along party lines—for not paying membership dues amounting to 12,000 rubles; and he left his post as deputy director, but began to actively appear on radio and TV; that is, from all appearances, he had "worked off" the money he owed the party.

In early 1988, Made was already known as one of the authors of the IME manifesto-program. Let's leave aside the fact that his signature appeared under the document at a time when many genuine authors were afraid to do that. And let's ask the question—Has he changed? Have his work-methods changed, and has his attitude toward others changed? Here are the facts: On 14 February 88 NOORTE HAAL published his commentaries, which were almost entirely lifted from another source. And not long before that, the two fighters for perestroyka, V. Pyder and T. Made, managed to achieve my expulsion from the Znanie Society by default, with the silent consent of dozens of people who understood that it is best not to argue with Pyder and Made... I must admit it is terrible for me to think about the fact that such a person has become a People's Deputy of the USSR.

I assert that the "T. Made phenomenon" is journalistic work. It is namely the press that saved him from inevitable exposure. One can even say that his actions were concealed by the press: As soon as something was discovered, they would show him all the more on TV; and they gave him the opportunity to speak on the radio from morning to night. But he is an able speaker, and the public did not know that Made was not included in a working group of specialists for drawing up the IME program; that being a social scientist, he began to work as a senior lecturer at the Labor Training Department of

the Institute for Teacher Qualification; that, having made a little noise in the ranks of the "Greens," in order to get a seat on the board of that movement, he had to resort to votes of delegates not from his own organization, and so on. Why don't they write about that? But after all, then it will finally become clear that in our press someone unsuitable is being made a hero.

The readers must nevertheless know the truth about the author of "International Organizations." I am also convinced of something else; namely, that making this fact publicly known will lead to a qualitative rebirth of foreign policy commentaries. And I am, truly, sorry for the editor of SIRP YA VAZAR.

**From the editors:** We received this material from the author before the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. However, we believed it would be improper to publish such an old "compromise" on one of them.

And what moved the editors to change their earlier decision?

Partly, an article in the HELSINKI SANOMAT, "Homo Sovieticus Created in the Soviet Union" (reprinted by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA on 4 March 1989). But to an even greater degree, we were forced to return to Toomas Alatalu's letter by a report we received from the Independent Information Center [NITS], in which it states:

"Tiit Made offered the Finnish newspaper HELSINKI SANOMAT an article entitled, 'Homo Sovieticus' Created in the Soviet Union,' which was published on 21 April 1989. On 4 May a translation of the given article was republished in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. NITS believes it is its duty to report that Tiit Made, who appeared in the role of the author, abstracted his article from the article, 'Syndrome "Homo Sovieticus",' by Mart Nutt, published in the magazine LOOMING (No 2, 1989), making only a few changes. Tiit Made did not even take the trouble to change the structure of the article, and certain sentences are a word-for-word translation of the article from the magazine LOOMING. No reference whatever was made to the true author of this article. Therefore, one cannot consider the Tiit Made's article an original; it is a question of violation of the rights of authorship, and an act worthy of moral condemnation. And the position of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA seems very strange as well. One gets the impression that the editors read HELSINKI SANOMAT, but not LOOMING. How else to explain the translated plagiarism from the Finnish newspaper?"

"In the opinion of NITS, HELSINKI SANOMAT and SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA should publish an explanation with respect to the incident which took place, and in the future closely follow the articles of T. Made, in order to avoid similar situations."

**We accept the reproach directed toward us by the Information Center, and we offer our apologies to the editors of the magazine LOOMING and to M. Nutt as the true**

author of the reprinted article. And in turn, we are awaiting an explanation on the part of T. Made.

**Language Law Implementation Measures Outlined**  
*18001330 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian*  
28 Jun 89 p 4

["Program to Ensure the Functioning of the Latvian Language in the State, Social, Cultural and Other Spheres (1989-1992)"]

[Text]

**On First-Priority Measures to Fulfill the Government Program to Implement the Latvian SSR Law on Language (Extract)**

(Approved by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium resolution of 14 June 1989.)

3. The ministries, state committees and departments, rayon and city ispolkoms, enterprises, institutions and organizations:

3.1. Must compile before 1 August 1989 a list of positions and professions for the enterprises, institutions and organizations in their systems, taking into account Article 4 of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages, for whom the performance of professional duties requires the knowledge and application of both the Latvian, as well as the Russian language. Said lists are coordinated with the State Committee on Labor and Social Issues;

3.2. Must develop and confirm the requirements for the level of knowledge of the language, needed by employees in order to perform their professional duties, jointly with the LaSSR Academy of Science's Institute of Language and Literature, before 1 January 1990;

3.3. Must compile a list of general purpose normative acts published in Russian (instructions, regulations, directions) for their own and higher ministries and departments, which must be translated into Latvian, and must set a schedule for translating these documents, taking into account the requirements set forth in Point 3 of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet 5 May 1989 resolution, "On the Procedure for Entry into Effect of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages," before 1 October 1989.

**Program to Ensure the Functioning of the Latvian Language in the State, Social, Cultural and Other Spheres (1989-1992)**

(Approved by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers 3 May 1989 resolution.)

Of the 2.68 million residents of the republic, 1.36 million are Latvians. Preliminary analysis indicates that approximately one-fourth of the population of other nationalities, residing in the republic, know the Latvian language and that about 1 million people do not know it. More than half of these are children and retirees.

With the introduction of the Law on Languages, about 300,000 people employed in the national economy must be instructed in the Latvian language, including 100,000 leaders, specialists and employees, whose work is related to serving the population. This category requires knowledge of the language in order to fulfill professional duties.

**I. Provision of Teaching Cadres**

In order to teach the Latvian language, the use in the first place of teachers and instructors of the Latvian language is called for.

The estimated need for teachers of the Latvian language in order to instruct the adult population is about 2,000 people.

Currently, there are 2,300 teachers of Latvian language and literature, as well as 5,800 primary school teachers, capable of teaching the Latvian language.

Moreover, teachers in other specialties, retired teachers and students from philology departments are being recruited for this work. Minobrazovaniye is organizing short retraining courses for them. This basically satisfies the need for cadres in order to organize language instruction for the adult population.

Minobrazovaniye and the rayon and city ispolkoms, before 15 August 1989, are to determine the contingent of teachers and instructors (from the point of view of rayons and cities), agreeable to teaching the Latvian language to the employees of associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Payment for teachers' labor is to be provided for in budgeted organizations at the budget's expense, and in cost-accounting organizations, at the expense of enterprise funds.

For educational institutions with Russian language instruction, the additional need for teachers specializing in Latvian language and literature amounts to 190 people for the 1989/90 school year. This need will be met by young specialists, recent graduates of pedagogical schools, and retired teachers. In order to satisfy the need for specialists in Latvian language and literature by 1992, acceptance into VUZs for this specialty has been increased. The acceptance of students is 375 people for the 1989/90 school year.

The training of Latvian language teachers for primary classes in general educational schools and children's preschool institutions is being done at three pedagogical schools and in four pedagogical classes, and the quantity of the latter will be increased as needed.

**II. Instruction of the Adult Population**

Associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations are organizing courses for the study of the Latvian

language by working people. National education departments are helping them select teaching cadres. Structural subdivisions of Minbyt or cooperatives are recruited as needed.

The instruction of the contingent, for which knowledge of the Latvian language is necessary in connection with performing official duties (agencies of the state administration, the consumer services sphere, administrative agencies, and leaders and specialists of sectors of the national economy), is being organized:

1. By the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers' Intersectorial Institute for Raising the Skills of Management Employees and Specialists—for the management employees of republic administration agencies.
2. By the rayon and city ispolkoms—for the employees of the apparatus of local soviet ispolkoms.
3. By the corresponding ministries, state committees and departments—for employees in the service sphere.

### III. The Instruction of Children, Pupils and Student Youth

is to be implemented in accordance with the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolution of 29 December 1988, No 435, on the program developed by Minobrazovaniye.

### IV. Educational and Methodological Support

General methodological leadership is assigned to Minobrazovaniye, and scientific support—to the LaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature. The extensive use of intensive instruction methods is called for.

Goskomkultura shall ensure the publication of educational aids, according to a program developed by it. In 1989, 22 titles in educational literature on the Latvian language and dictionaries for educational institutions with Russian language instruction and for the adult population, with an overall circulation of 822,000 copies, including 14 titles for the adult population, will be published.

The LaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature will offer practical assistance to ministries, state committees, departments, associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations in developing terminology dictionaries and bulletins.

In associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations, the polygraphic capacities, copying equipment, and paper of the associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations are to be used for the circulation of methodological aids for language study.

Increase the time for education television broadcasts, expanding the production of educational videocassettes, records and tape recordings, and using the possibilities

of periodical publications, printed in Russian, for the publication of educational materials, is stipulated.

### V. Office Work

A state committee to implement the Latvian SSR Law on Language will work on solving problems related to using the state language in office work.

The committee will determine a procedure for the use of the state language in documenting administrative work, as well as for the use of languages in the sectorial, intersectorial, technical standards, and design-estimate documentation.

Guided by this procedure, the ministries, state committees, departments, ispolkoms of local soviets, associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations will determine the requisite number of specialists—translators and typists for work with texts in the Latvian language. The need for them will be met by retraining the existing cadres of translators and typists, recruitment of proper specialists for translation work, and the training of cadres of translators and typists within the Minobrazovaniye system.

The actual need for typewriters with a Latvian keyboard will be accurately determined before 1 September 1989, so that the demand for them can be entirely satisfied by 1991. Mintorg is already providing for the purchase of more than 4,000 typewriters with a Latvian keyboard in 1989. A number of plants and cooperatives have been recruited to replace the Russian keyboards of existing typewriters with Latvian keyboards.

Gosplan's Scientific and Technical Institute for Planning will resolve problems, related to using the Latvian language on computers, within a 3-year period of time.

### VI. Material and Technical Support

Measures will be taken to strengthen the material and technical base of educational institutions which train pedagogical cadres and of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature. The completion of construction of an educational laboratory building for the Daugavpils Pedagogical Institute is called for in 1989, and, for the pedagogical department of LGU in Riga—in 1990.

In the second half of 1989, the republic Council of Ministers will examine the question of additional measures to strengthen the material and technical base for book publishing work. Possibilities are being sought for allocating to Goskomkultura an additional 120 tons of offset paper and for the acquisition of scarce polygraphic equipment, in order to publish educational literature in 1989.

Minsvyaz, jointly with the BEF Production Association, will ensure the provision of up to 50 conference halls of ministries, state committees and rayon and city ispolkoms with simultaneous translation systems by 1991, and institutions of culture and art will be provided

with them in accordance with the 13 January 1988 Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolution No 12, "On Equipping Institutions of Culture and Art with Simultaneous Speech Translation Systems."

The republic Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs, jointly with the Riga gorispolkom, is working on the question of creating a Center for Languages in Riga.

According to preliminary estimates, about 50 million rubles are needed in order to finance the measures stipulated by this program, of which over 23 million rubles are from the budget, and the rest are from the funds of associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations.

The republic budget and resources located in the funds of associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations make it possible to cover these expenses.

### **Lithuanian Army Officer Lauds Language Tolerance**

*18001284 Moscow KOMMUNIST  
VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 10, May 89  
pp 42-47*

[Article by Lt Col Yu. Zurlis: "National Sentiments and Nationalistic Emotions"]

[Text] About the author: Yuozas Kazio Zurlis graduated from higher military-political school as an external student, and by correspondence from the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin. He has served as deputy commander for political affairs of a training company, a club chief, secretary of the party buro and deputy commander for political affairs of a regiment. He is presently serving in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany as a political worker.

I serve far away from the motherland—in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. But from this place, all of us follow the events occurring in our homelands with special interest. And these events cannot but elicit concern in many of us. I, for example, am troubled by the fact that interethnic relations have grown extremely tense in my republic, Lithuania. Attempts by some "patriots" to direct the processes of our society's democratization into the channel of nationalistic aspirations are obvious. Such attempts, in my opinion, bear destructive force. And this is evident from many facts.

For example we can observe a tendency for division of the population into Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians. On one hand we have the rather widespread Sajudis movement, while on the other hand we have the Yedinstvo movement. Both are operating under the slogans of perestroika. They hold rallies and demonstrations, the participants of which state their opinions on how to help perestroika along, and to solve faster the social problems that have accumulated in the republic. But besides the constructive proposals, we also hear appeals such as "Liberate Lithuania from the Russians," "Reinstate the

Lithuanian Ministry of Armed Forces and the national officer corps," "Get Soviet troops out, and invite UN troops in their place" and so on.

What is going on? What are the causes of the situation we now see? Even in the most reactionary years of czarism, after all, Lithuania was never distinguished by nationalism, even though the destiny of my homeland has been extremely complex.

Prior to 1939 part of the republic had been forcibly separated away and placed under bourgeois Poland. The Poles renamed Vilnius Wilno. Lithuania's capital was moved to Kaunas. Then the war came, during which numerous trials fell to the lot of the Lithuanians. As with the other Baltic republics and all Soviet people, Soviet Lithuania withstood the fire of war.

Then came a complex period. The republic's laborers restored what had been destroyed by the war, created and strengthened the republic's economic base, put their life in order, raised children and made plans for the future. Together with other union republics Lithuania actively joined the restructuring effort. And suddenly negative processes leading to separation—into Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians—have begun.

Where are its roots? Could it be that it all has to do with language as a means of communication? Today, the issue of Lithuanian as a state language has injected itself into a number of highly important social problems. I recall when it was noted at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet held in June of last year that the coming together of our peoples and unification of effort would proceed on the basis of further flourishing of all peoples and all cultures, and development of national language. Language is in fact our treasured possession, we must be proud of it, and it must be protected and developed. An obvious truth, one would think. But most likely it has not yet been understood by all. What else could explain the fact that recognition of Lithuanian as a state language in the republic was met so painfully by some? It would have been absurd, after all, to accuse Lomonosov or Turgenev of chauvinism for their fabulous words about the great Russian language. But are such accusations not equally absurd when words expressing the merits of Lithuanian, Belorussian, Ukrainian and Kazakh come from the mouths of Donelaytis, Martsinkyavichus, Adamovich, Oleynik and Suleymenov?

Over a hundred nations and nationalities live in our multinational country, and they are simply obligated to understand one another. This is achieved owing to Russian. Why has precisely this language become the means of international communication? Because most of the population of the USSR speaks it. That's logical. But what is to be done with most of the indigenous population of a union republic? Should other laws operate here? A sizable part of the country's non-Russian population cannot speak Russian today, and some see this almost as a manifestation of nationalism. But apparently this is

not at all so. And yet do we ever come across persons of non-Russian nationality residing permanently in cities of the RSFSR—for example in Moscow, Sverdlovsk and Leningrad—who do not know Russian? I in any case have never met such people. But then, why is it that in other republics, ignorance of the local language on the part of people of a “nonindigenous” nationality is assumed to be the normal order of things?

Clear reference points are offered on this account in the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference On International Relations. It is noted there that we should create all of the conditions for harmonious, natural development of national-Russian bilingualism, display greater concern for active functioning of national languages in different spheres of state, social and cultural life, and encourage study of the language of the people bearing the name of the republic by citizens of other nationalities residing within its territory, and chiefly children and the young.

But here is what I have noticed. Whenever you speak before an audience of officers and warrant officers, and tell them that there are many examples in the Baltic republics where persons who do not know Russian are appointed to executive positions and in the sphere of public services, you encounter approval. And when you say that persons who do not know the language of the republic are also often accepted for these positions, you sometimes hear it said in the hall that this is nationalism, that this is oppression of and discrimination against the “nonindigenous population,” and so on. But why such categorical thinking? Where does it come from?

**It seems to me that wherever respect of one another and elementary tact do not exist, wherever a desire to understand one another is not expressed, international tensions and insults begin.**

What all of this can lead to was described in one of the issues of PRAVDA by Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Secretary V. Kiye-vik: “Last week we received a letter from Tallinn. It turned out to be written in Estonian. After mulling it over a bit we came up with a solution: We sent the reply written in Moldavian.”

What good would ever come of it if Russian begins to disappear from the traditionally good mutual relations between fraternal republics—a language comprehensible to all parties, one which has brought people closer together over many years, and helped them in their life and work, and in the acquisition of knowledge? And how are we to communicate with our neighbors? As I understand, Sajudis favors placing priority on Lithuanian in all areas of communication. Here is what I would ask of Sajudis activists in this connection: What language would they use to coordinate their plans with persons of like mind in Latvia, Estonia and Belorussia? I am still waiting for an answer.

As a citizen of a multinational motherland and as a representative of my tiny Lithuania, I am pleased by the

changes and by the eagerness with which Soviet people have joined the restructuring effort. And there is apparently nothing surprising in the fact that given such high activity of the popular masses, there is a pluralism of opinions concerning particular vitally important issues. But when it comes down to the point that certain activists of Sajudis find even Lenin Prospect, Kutuzov Square and the Pushkin Monument in Vilnius to be “superfluous” and “unnecessary,” it is evident that some of them are in fact losing their sense of reality and measure.

I would also like to share some thoughts about certain military issues of the Sajudis program. Having served almost a quarter of a century in the USSR Armed Forces, my knowledge of the army’s problems comes from more than just hearsay. The army is my life—together with all of the joys, misfortunes, problems and so on. And I can in no way agree with those leaders of the Sayudis movement, and especially of the Free Lithuania League and similar movements that degrade the serious matter of ensuring our country’s security almost down to that of playing militarized “Zarnitsa” games.

In the meantime it is known even to schoolchildren that while in World War I there were a few dozen military specialties in the armies of the warring countries, now there are over 2,000 of them. Which of them would young Lithuanians in “national formations,” and especially in the conditions of republic cost accounting, be able to master, and how? How would high-class military specialists be trained? I, as an equal citizen of the USSR, graduated from a higher military political school and from the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin. Other representatives of union republics, including Lithuania, have done the same thing as well. But were the republic to function under full cost accounting, young Lithuanians would not always have the opportunity to enter military and other VUZes outside their republic. Judging from the statements of Sajudis, this issue would be examined by the republic’s government. Lithuania does need such cadres—there is agreement there. But there are other solutions.

It seems to me that such cost accounting would lead to unpredictable social consequences. And chiefly to national separateness, to self-isolation.

I made a decision to prepare my son for study in a Suvorov military school. I learned that there is a specialized boarding school in Vilnius that prepares young men for further study in military schools. This pleased me, because while I would be serving abroad, my son would at least be living closer to his relatives, who would be able to visit him. I telephoned the school from the republic military commissariat. They asked me if my son knew Lithuanian. No, I replied. My wife is Estonian, I am Lithuanian, and my children know only Russian, which is what we speak in the family. And what is so strange about that? During my years in the army I have served in several garrisons in different republics. The children simply did not have an opportunity to study



either Estonian or Lithuanian. During these years it was even impossible to obtain the appropriate literature so that they could study on their own. This is what I told them at the boarding school. They heard me out, and then they refused to accept the application. It was then that a question came to mind: Are these the kind of schools which will lay the foundation for future military cadres for national formations of an "independent" Lithuania?

**Each day, history, and life itself, provide us with sufficient examples that only jointly, only by working together would we be capable of solving those great and complex problems life sets before us.**

Yes, mistakes had been made in the history of the Soviet Union, repressions occurred during the period of Stalin's cult of personality, and Lithuanians are not the only ones who still bear resentments. But there were also the joys of victory, there were also real successes. Is it really not obvious where we started and how far we have come? The 19th All-Union Party Conference awakened everyone to active social and political life, perestroika is breaking the ice of the stagnant times, and we must put all of our effort into helping this along, we must soberly evaluate the situation, correct the mistakes of the past, and in the course of perestroika direct the activities of the popular masses toward resolution of the most urgent problems.

But which way are individual leaders of Sajudis, and especially of the Free Lithuania League, pushing us? Toward destruction of our unity, toward national separatism, toward strife among all in our common home?

I think that it would not be superfluous to recall more frequently the fact that our army, which is a fragment of Soviet society, not only mirrors national relations but is also capable of actively influencing them. Evidence of this can be found in the entire history of the Soviet Armed Forces.

"The Red Army," said M. V. Frunze, "is not a national army: It is also a union, but a fighting union, into which the laborers of all of our Soviet republics send their sons to stand guard over Soviet land."

And today our army, fulfilling its principal mission in defense of the socialist fatherland, is at the same time a real school of internationalism. Every Soviet soldier, irrespective of his rank and position, is constantly relating with representatives of other nationalities. In the army he has a good opportunity to learn about the spiritual culture of many nations and nationalities, and to discover many things about them. I could demonstrate this with examples from the life of the military collectives of units serving in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany as well. I will confine myself to just a few of them.

Whenever young replacements come to the group's units and formations, we organize evening and morning discussions such as "I Introduce Myself to the Collective"

and "Meetings of the Union Republics at the Map of the Motherland." We conduct 10-day celebrations of the union republics, during which we publish radio newspapers, show movies and set up book exhibits devoted to the union republics, and organize performances by amateur groups. And our military cooks even manage to prepare national dishes on these days.

Correspondence of commanders and political workers with the parents of soldiers and with the collectives in which they had studied or labored prior to joining the army also plays an important role in educating the soldiers and unifying the multinational military collectives. We make it a practice of acquainting young replacements from national republics with soldiers from the home country completing their tour of duty, and of transferring weapons and combat equipment in a solemn ceremony.

Much is also done to teach the officers how to work well in multinational military collectives. An atmosphere of respect for the rights, customs and national and psychological features of soldiers of different nationalities is created, and a battle is waged against verbal abuse and against names and jokes that outrage the national worth of servicemen.

When the tremendous disaster occurred on Armenian soil, soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces acted as outstanding models of internationalism. The main burden of the rescue operations essentially fell upon the shoulders of servicemen.

Soldiers of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany also perceived the common misfortune with all of their heart. They organized collection and shipment of basic necessities to victims in Armenia, and chiefly to the families of servicemen. Women's social organizations took an active part in the collection of materials. The first airplane carrying medicines, tents, blankets, streetwear and food was sent to Leninakan. Officers, NCOs and privates from cities and towns within the zone affected by the natural disaster were sent there on this trip as well. Soon after, one more airplane landed in Leninakan with cargo for the earthquake victims.

The group's servicemen also collected considerable amounts of money. One million eight hundred twenty-three thousand four hundred rubles by the end of January 1989. Of this amount, 1,145,000 rubles were transferred to the current account of the Transcaucasian Military District to render assistance to military families that suffered from the earthquake, and 678,400 rubles were transferred to an Armenian bank.

Many soldiers of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany—representatives of all nationalities—expressed their readiness to donate blood for the victims. Among them were the Russians Agafonov and Bychkov, Lithuanians Yankauskas and Chetvertinskas, Georgians Silagadze and Kanadze, Ukrainians Rudenko and Zhikharenko, and hundreds of others.

No, the friendship of the peoples of our country is not just words, but a real accomplishment of October, of socialism. It was paid for by all of our country's history. Which is why we are so astounded when we hear evidence of some people wishing to disintegrate the foundation of this friendship. Certain phenomena which we are sometimes compelled to observe in some of the republics raise concern. Take for example the impression left by a recent discussion with Private Roylyan, a Moldavian. He had returned from a short leave. He talked enthusiastically to me about the changes occurring today in the republic. It was impossible for me not to share in his joy concerning the positive changes in Moldavia—for example the fact that Moldavian was to become a state language. But Roylyan went on to tell me something else. The issue of replacing the Cyrillic alphabet by the Latin alphabet has been raised in the republic. The soldier talked about this with the same enthusiasm. But when I asked him to explain to me what was behind the desire to change the alphabet, he was unable to offer me any sensible explanations. The thought that comes to me is this: What are we to do with the kind of "restructuring" in the social life of the republics which seems to me to be based more on emotions and the latest style than on the realities of life? One often senses a premeditation in such statements which is not difficult to expose as a certain kind of nationalism. Who needs a rebirth of nationalism?

The discussion on improper mutual relations in the army milieu has now spread to Lithuanians as well. The army is taking decisive steps to eradicate the causes of this phenomenon. But don't we also know that the social roots of this evil must be sought chiefly not in military life? They extend down into the entire way of our life of the last 20 years. And if Sajudis and the Free Lithuania League feel that only Lithuanians and other minorities suffer from improper mutual relations, this is far from so. To my great regret I have encountered even my own fellow countrymen among the perpetrators of such things. For example Private Ratautas from Jonava assumed the path of a disrespectful attitude toward fellow servicemen of a more recent call-up after serving only half a year, for which he was expelled from the Komsomol and subjected to severe disciplinary punishment.

It seems to me that the vocational-technical schools and *tekhnikums* have become a favorable medium for the birth and spread of unhealthy interpersonal mutual relations, discrimination and social injustice. They possess the most inhomogeneous collectives—graduates of eight-year schools with no experience in mutual communication, young adults who had served their time in the army, and even persons who had served sentences in correctional labor colonies and prisons. I myself had to endure this "school" prior to being called up for military service, and I was witness to some of the things that happened. This is why young people carry the "virus of *dedovshchina*" into the military barracks. Understandably, if the leaders of a subunit are passive, and if commanders and political workers are unaware of the

state of affairs in the subunits, or if they do not have sufficient experience in unifying multinational military collectives, the disease begins to progress. And sometimes it leads to a tragic outcome.

Journalists have calculated that in the last year, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA received a record number of responses from the entire country (14,247) to its article "Incident in the Special Car." It described how Private A. Sakalauskas, driven to despair by improper mutual relations, took brutal revenge upon his tormentors. This extraordinary incident shook many people, and it pained the hearts of those with sons and grandsons who have yet to serve in the army. It was especially disturbing to the residents of Lithuania, since Sakalauskas was one of their emissaries. And on the general background of the relationship of young people to service in the army in this republic, this problem became even more acute. It is being actively discussed by students and by active members of Sajudis and the Free Lithuania League. The question as to national military formations and military service only in one's own republic is weighing heavily.

Persons having absolutely no relationship to modern army problems sometimes speak actively about the army and service in it. In particular this is typical of the intelligentsia, and certain of its representatives such as, for example, V. Reimeris, a respected person and a prominent Lithuanian writer. And who has not heard the various opinions expressed by director E. Ryazanov on relations in the army? A woman who recently graduated from the university dared to seriously discuss the army's problems on the program "Vzglyad" ["Viewpoint"], and students who have not even served in the army yet are talking about them everywhere. T. N. Rudokas, a novice Lithuanian writer, writes quite openly: "...I did not fight in Afghanistan, and I have not even served in the USSR Armed Forces (due to a head injury)." Nonetheless he takes it upon himself to describe what it was like to serve in Afghanistan, where it is best for young Lithuanians to serve, and how much Lithuania needs national formations.

What can I say? No one is prohibited from discussing vitally important state problems, but I would think that in order to make proposals, one must understand the essence of the problems deeply and comprehensively. It would be much better for everyone to take care of his own business, and to be responsible for his own business.

In these complex and contradictory times, it would hardly be possible for a clear-thinking person to completely ignore military preparation of preconscription youth, and service in the USSR Armed Forces. But who is to defend the country? Or has the need for doing so already disappeared completely? The lessons of history, and the present situation in the world as well, continue to summon us to vigilance and to a constant readiness to stand in defense of the motherland.

Such that words alone and noisy declarations are not enough. There is still a need for real power, and in order

to possess it, speaking in Lenin's words we need to study military affairs in the way they should be studied. But they have not come to understand this truth in Sajudis. The movement's leaders feel that we need to "...constrict or totally annul military training in schools and VUZes," and that "...the term of mandatory military service must be reduced."

Let's assume that this would be better. But life and troop experience show that if we do reduce the term of active service, in many ways we would have to do so precisely at the expense of improving military training of preconscrip youth in the schools and VUZes. Isn't this obvious?

Unfortunately the line of reasoning expressed above can be encountered not only in Lithuania and not only in the program documents of public movements. However, it would be pertinent to recall here that at the same time that some are discussing in all seriousness the advantages of a cadre-militia system, and the need or lack thereof of military training and service, here in the FRG, right next door to the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, the expenditures on arms have grown, and the scale and quality of training for preconscrip youth have increased. And this is a fact!

Sajudis declares: "The existing means of satisfying the military obligation in the USSR Armed Forces are obsolete and immoral." As far as it being obsolete, yes, there are many things that need to be improved. I feel that it would be suitable to provide student deferments—students must be allowed an opportunity to finish their higher education. After all, the Law on Universal Compulsory Military Service sets the conscript age at 27 years. Those who graduate from a military department could be released from the draft, while if the VUZ does not have a military department, the graduate could be called up for 1 year. This would be a highly educated soldier, an NCO, an independent, mature person—the first assistant of officers in unifying military collectives. He will also be the first assistant in the struggle against improper mutual relations. There is also a need for a more differentiated approach to determining the novice's place of service in accordance with his education and occupational training. There is still very much disagreement in this area.

When it comes to service being immoral, Sajudis is clearly in the wrong. It was not the long ago that even in Lithuania, I often observed parents hopefully awaiting the departure of their sons for service in the army, believing that in the army they would undergo a school of maturity and courage, and acquire a specialty, and saying to wayward sons that "they'll make a man out of you there."

**I am deeply convinced that every citizen of the USSR must relate to military service as to a matter of great social meaningfulness, as to defense of the socialist fatherland,**

**as to something that is most precious in his life, something that is in his deepest interest, that unifies and brings people together, and generates relations of mutual trust and friendship.**

History has shown that our country's multinational make-up is one of the sources of its power, and we do not have the right to transform it into a source of weakness.

In and of itself, the "national factor" will not work in favor of perestroyka. No measures, even the best-conceived, will produce an impact if they are not followed by practical deeds, if people do not feel personal responsibility for the destiny of not only their own land, their own people, but of the entire country as well. And it is important for everyone to clearly recognize this, so as not to yield to emotions and transform the "national factor" into a nationalistic factor. We cannot place the interests of one nation above the interests of all of the peoples in the country.

### **Greens Oppose Expansion of Military Airfield**

*18001421a Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 3*

[Report by K. Budris: "Airplanes over the City: Shyaulay's Inhabitants Protest Proximity of Military Airfield"]

[Text] At 1600 hours a group of "Greens" on bicycles surrounded the military airfield at Shyaulay, an airfield which is located practically on the city's territory. A similar action was also organized almost a year ago. The changes are evident. The "Greens" have fixed their attention on more dumps which are spoiling nature and mountains of cast-off military equipment. There has been an expansion of the territory polluted by fuel and other substances. Local tractor-operators sometimes scoop up "food" for their steel horses from the meadows and gulches located here. Many far-sighted, clever Shyaulayans have begun to trade in this "fuel." And the "Greens" have taken test samples. Toward evening, when several thousand Shyaulayans and inhabitants from the nearby towns had gathered near the military airfield, the "Greens" set fire to these pollutants. A train of black smoke stretched out. That is also the way, the "Greens" said, that the meadows around the airfield have burned on several occasions. The military service people have not been in any hurry to stop the spread of this ecological wound. On the contrary, the danger for nature and people's health has increased. Despite promises, the military airplanes have been flying over the city just as before. Day and night children and adults shudder from the hellish noise made by airplanes taking off. Heavy metals from the military airfield and the fuel storage areas have started to get into the municipal water supply, inasmuch as until now there have been no facilities for purifying waste waters.

Povilas Morkunas, chairman of the Shyaulay Gorispolkom, spoke at the meeting and addressed an appeal to the military-service people. Stop! Stop! Look into the

eyes of the people among whom you are living! Why are you discrediting the Soviet regime by not living up to the promises to stop these flights which are dangerous for our city's people?

A representative of the military people also spoke at the meeting:

"Eighty of our officers are on a list of those desiring to study the Lithuanian language. We appealed as follows to your municipal authorities: Give us Lithuanian-language teachers! In reply, we were asked where the wages were to come from. But why such commercialism? Be patriots!"

And so let's be "patriots." Whereas one out of every six pregnant women living in Shyaulay is ill, Chkalov Street, in the words of Povilas Morkunas, thanks to the "lofty ideological-political awareness" of the employees at the military airfield, has become a focus of drunkenness.

However, conflicts and misunderstandings were avoided. The participants in the meeting adopted a resolution demanding that this military airfield be relocated beyond the city limits. Moreover, it was decided to appeal this matter to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

### Questions About Significance of Historical Documents Raised

*18001421b Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 3*

[Article by A. Piliponis, director of LiSSR Central State Archives: "A Perfidious Friendship"]

[Excerpt] On 10 October 1939 I. Urbshis, the Lithuanian Republic's minister of foreign affairs, and V.M. Molotov, the USSR's chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and commissar of foreign affairs, signed an agreement regarding the transfer of Vilnius and the Vilnius territory to the Lithuanian Republic, as well as mutual aid between Lithuania and the Soviet Union (the original of this agreement has been preserved in the LiSSR's Central State Archives).

The agreement states the following (as translated from Lithuanian):

"...Article 1. In order to strengthen the friendship between Lithuania and the USSR, Vilnius and the Vilnius region shall be transferred by the Soviet Union to the Lithuanian Republic with their inclusion in the territory of the Lithuanian state and the established borders between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR in accordance with the map proposed here; however, this border will be defined in a more detailed manner in an additional document.

"Article 2. The Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union shall be bound to jointly defend the borders of Lithuania, for which purpose the Soviet Union shall be granted the right, employing its own funds, to maintain

in jointly agreed-upon localities of the Lithuanian Republic a strictly limited number of Soviet army troops and air-force personnel (...).

"Article 7. Implementation of this agreement shall in no way affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, especially their state structure, economic and social systems, military measures, and, on the whole, the law of non-interference in internal affairs.

"The places where Soviet army troops and air-force personnel are to be stationed under any circumstances shall remain a constituent part of the Lithuanian Republic's territory...."

On 14 June 1940 at 2300 hours Lithuanian time Molotov, the Soviet Union's chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and commissar of foreign affairs, handed I. Urbshis, the Lithuanian Republic's minister of foreign affairs, an ultimatum, which stated the following:

"...The government of the Soviet Union considers the following necessary:

"1) Minister of Internal Affairs Skuchas and Director of the Security Department Povilaytis should be arrested and held for trial as directly guilty perpetrators of provocative acts against the Soviet garrisons in Lithuania (the LiSSR press has already written about the "grounds" for these charges—Author's note).

"2) that a government be set up immediately in Lithuania which would be capable and desirous of observing the agreement on mutual aid between the Soviet Union and Lithuania and of determinedly bridling the foes of this agreement.

"3) immediately ensure freedom of entry into the territory of Lithuania to Soviet military units, which will be stationed in Lithuania's most important centers and will be sufficiently numerous so as to ensure the possibility of implementing the mutual-aid agreement between the Soviet Union and Lithuania....

"...The government of the Soviet Union will wait for a reply from the Lithuanian Republic until 1000 hours on the morning of 15 June. A failure to receive a reply from the Lithuanian government by this time will be taken as a refusal to satisfy the Soviet Union's demands mentioned above (RITINIS LETUVOS AYDAS, 16 June 1940, No 281)."

Just why did everything change as if in a kaleidoscope? Why were the agreements dated 12 June 1920 and 28 September 1926 not observed? In the preamble to the agreement dated 10 October 1939 it was stated that they remain, as before, the firm foundation of mutual relations and obligations.

Historians will have to return again to these questions more than once in discussing the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 23 August 1939, the agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany dated 28 September 1939 and about the secret documents.

We have seen more than one interpretation of these contradictory events in the central press. Will their evaluation coincide with the evaluation made by Lithuania's historians? It will be easier for the readers of KOMYAUNIMO TESI to orient themselves on these matters after becoming acquainted with the speeches made by the foreign ministers of the two independent states—V. Molotov and I. Urbshis.

The first speech was delivered on 31 October 1939 at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow, which ratified the treaty of friendship and borders between the Soviet Union and Germany, dated 28 September 1939. And the second was made on 6 November of the same year in Kaunas in connection with the 2nd Anniversary of the October Revolution. Pozdnyakov, the USSR's ambassador to the Lithuanian Republic took part in this celebration.

These speeches were published in the newspaper 20TH CENTURY, which had a Christian-Democratic tendency.

Let the readers judge how much swaggering self-conceit, demagoguery, and perfidiousness there was in them, on the one hand, and how much concern for the fate of the peoples involved, on the other hand.

#### **LiSSR To Amend USSR Traffic Laws for Republic Use**

*18001420 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 89 p 3*

[Interview with Lt Col Vatslavas Zabarauskas, deputy chief of the Lithuanian SSR MVD State Motor Vehicle Inspection (Traffic Police) Administration, by V. Valyukyavichyus: "Our Regulations on Our Highways"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Many motor vehicle drivers in our republic uneasily awaited 1 June, when numerous new rules were supposed to go into effect in highway traffic regulations. Some drivers were glad that there would be no warning tickets, and others expressed fears concerning the fines. It is now clear that the uneasiness was uncalled for, inasmuch as the Union decree will not go into effect in our republic. Why? We discuss this with Lieutenant Colonel Vatslavas Zabarauskas, deputy chief of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration ■GAI■.

[Zabarauskas] On 9 February of this year, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a Ukase on Addenda and Amendments to the Ukase of 15 March 1983 which has covered accountability for violating highway traffic regulations. The new decree is not satisfactory to us because the recommendations that we made during the draft ukase's discussion were not taken into account. Such an important feature as stiffening the punishment for repeated offenses is not provided by the ukase; moreover, the fines are not discriminatory with respect

to a committed offense's danger. So, it is entirely inconsequential whether an offender exceeds a speed limit by 10 kilometers per hour or by 50, and it is likewise inconsequential how many times he has done this—the punishment will be the same.

Furthermore, the Union ukase does not cover accountability for violating highway traffic regulations on expressways. One of the USSR GAI executives has said that there are almost no such highways in the country, and therefore the matter is not urgent. Does this mean that the regulations prescribed for high-speed expressways need not be observed on the Kaunas-Klaipeda Expressway? We, of course, have a different opinion.

[Valyukyavichyus] Several months ago this would have been impossible....

[Zabarauskas] Indeed, it is in accordance with the recently adopted correction to Article 70 of Lithuania's Constitution that we need not implement the new instruction.

[Valyukyavichyus] This is not the first ukase from Moscow unacceptable to the republic's motor vehicle drivers and motor vehicle inspection administration!

[Zabarauskas] Not long ago our Supreme Soviet set aside the Center's [Moscow's] ukase concerning the tax on motor vehicle owners. It probably is not by chance that the two documents (the provisions of one of them will not be implemented, and the other's effect has been suspended) are connected with transportation and highway traffic. The motor vehicle ownership level in the republic is 2.5 times as high as that of the overall situation in the USSR. There are 111 motor vehicles per 1,000 residents in Lithuania, and 44 per 1,000 in the USSR, and we thus have far more problems associated with traffic safety. To date we have been unable to react in sufficiently timely fashion to the dynamic situation on our highways. The USSR MVD GAI has given the response to our recommendations that the problem is not pressing for the Union, and we must wait, but this waiting has cost us hundreds of killed and disabled people.

[Valyukyavichyus] So now a lot of work, and as much responsibility, await you—indeed, you will no longer be able to say: "Moscow gave the orders," or "Moscow did not grant us permission."

[Zabarauskas] Now we shall be able to give the force of law to what people have wanted. Let us recall the questionnaire published in KOMYAUNIMO TESI [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Lithuanian] in October of last year. Many people filled it in—this confirms that traffic safety is a pressing problem. The main thought expressed on the questionnaires was: It is essential to increase the fines imposed upon drunk drivers. We shall do this. In addition, we shall restore the important legal standards that existed up to and including 1983. A Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet ukase defined the accountability for highway traffic regulation

violations in the republic then, but the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet was deprived of this right as of 1984. Prior to this, our laws had provided for more severe punishment of those who failed to stop at a police officer's demand, or who left the scene of a motor vehicle incident. Having discarded warning tickets, we feel that we still should count up drivers' offenses, and impose penalties depending on the number of offenses. It is essential to acquire the modern computer equipment for building up such a data bank on offenses.

In short, by studying the standard documents of foreign countries and their experience in the work, we shall try to create the kind of system that will not interfere with a law-abiding driver, and will be very strict with an offender.

[Valyukyavichyus] When shall we have our own highway traffic regulations?

[Zabarauskas] I think that the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers will establish them in the future. Within a year and a half, it is intended to prepare a new code of administrative law offenses covering accountability for the regulations' violation.

[Valyukyavichyus] I assume that this will not be done behind closed doors.

[Zabarauskas] Certainly not. We shall present the forthcoming draft of the republic's highway traffic regulations and the administrative accountability for their violation to the public for discussion.

[Valyukyavichyus] Here is my personal recommendation regarding the new draft: Instead of appealing to the offender's conscience, let us appeal to his wallet.

[Zabarauskas] I am in complete agreement. I hope that precisely this will be accentuated in the draft. Highway traffic regulation violators have to pay heavy fines throughout the world.

[Valyukyavichyus] Why is all of this going to be implemented in a year and a half or 2 years and a half, and not in several months?

[Zabarauskas] It is impossible to bring about such fundamental changes in a hurry. Certain Council of Ministers directives and other documents must be amended. A scad of instructions, ukases, and directives has been written out during past years, and all are so interrelated that several months really is too little time for the serious changes. For example, a GAI-division department chief may impose a fine no greater than 200 rubles at present. How are we to impose a 1,000-ruble fine on a drunk driver?

[Valyukyavichyus] We have rejected the Moscow version. How are we going to get by while awaiting our own?

[Zabarauskas] Let me clarify: We did not condemn the Moscow version to death. There are progressive things in it—for example, cancellation of driver warning tickets.

Making corrections to the Moscow version, we shall present it to a Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session for consideration. As I have already said, we shall impose a fine proportional to the degree of an offense's danger in order to avoid an indiscriminate leveling. We shall also annul warning tickets.

### Statutes of Lithuanian Women's Association Drafted

18001418 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in  
Russian 8 Jun 89 p 2

["Draft of the Constitution of the Lithuanian Women's League"]

[Text]

#### 1. General Principles

The Lithuanian Women's League (SZhL) is an independent women's organization, uniting women of various religions, nationalities, social statuses, ages, and convictions. The SZhL's reinstitution is an important event in spiritual rebirth because women's well-organized and timely activity to advance the higher human and national ideals is called for to enhance woman's image, and to reestablish her status as woman and mother.

The SZhL continues the activity begun by Lithuanian Republic women's organizations, actively participates in the society's political, economic, social, and cultural life, and strives for the unity of all organizations and parties operating in Lithuania, and of Lithuania's entire population.

The SZhL considers peacefulness, persuasion, and demonstrativeness fundamentals of its activity. It uses active protest methods only in cases of human rights violation, worsening of the ecological situation, arising of a threat to the republic's sovereignty, and the like.

The SZhL dissociates itself from organizations and alliances, the activity of which is directed against Lithuanian sovereignty and toward restricting Lithuanian language rights in the republic, as well as from militaristic and chauvinistic groups that try to split the society into factions.

The SZhL strives for joint activity with Baltic State women's organizations and active participation in the worldwide women's movement.

The SZhL participates in the republic's political and social life on equal terms with national rebirth organizations, as well as with the republic's organs of state authority and administration.

#### 2. The League's Aims

To restore the woman and mother status perverted by a primitive emancipation concept, and to ensure that

motherhood and labor for the family's good are evaluated as a most valuable socially useful labor, and are supported by legal and economic guarantees.

To prove the actual inequality in men and women's proclaimed official equality. To ensure that the society's politico-legal structure guarantees a woman real equal rights, in all walks of public life, that are based on international legal standards and assured in the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

To ensure that Lithuania's women have realistic conditions for realizing their potentials—acquiring a specialty and increasing their skill—without the application of any sort of age limitations to a woman who is bringing up children.

To be concerned with protecting the baby's and child's rights, achieve reduction in the number of abortions, and inculcate the understanding that every conceived life—this is not a union of biological cells, but a national treasure. To organize the family's and society's life with the child's interests in mind, achieve the creation of optimum conditions for its physical and spiritual development, respect the uniqueness of the child's personality, reject the leveling system of training and education, and publicize the necessity for private kindergartens and schools of various kinds.

To restore the family's prestige, and promote its moral, physical, and spiritual health. In every family, to shape the girl's spiritual ideal—woman and mother—and the boy's—man and father. To inculcate the attitude toward work as that toward self-esteem.

To preserve the Lithuanian population's genetic stock, and fight against harmful customs and environmental effects to ensure that young women and men do not work under harmful conditions. To create a monetary fund for the voluntary sterilization of degraded individuals for monetary compensation. To demand complete information about the AIDS [SPID] situation in Lithuania, and to fight against the spreading of this disease.

To support all nature-protecting laws actively, to become affiliated with programs and actions aimed at improving the ecological situation in Lithuania, to call attention to ecological problems urgent for women and children, to make recommendations for the amelioration of these, and to conduct ecological enlightenment work.

To fight actively against the violation of a person's rights during the course of army service, to create standing committees for assistance to soldiers, and to ensure that Lithuanian citizens are not sent beyond Lithuania's borders against their will, and do not participate in military actions condemned by the UN, that the period of mandatory military service is shortened, and that a citizen's labor obligation is set up for individuals who have refused to accept a weapon for religious or moral reasons.

### 3. SZhL Organizational Structure

The SZhL's highest organ of authority is its annually convening congress. An extraordinary congress may be convened by the Central Board of Directors, or by SZhL members themselves when no fewer than a third of all league members so demand.

The SZhL congress elects a chairwoman, her deputy and secretary, and a Central Board of Directors, as well as a Revisory Commission, by majority vote in a secret ballot.

The congress sets the numerical strength of the Central Board of Directors.

The SZhL's congress establishes its constitution and program, and changes these as may be necessary.

The chairwoman and the SZhL's Central Council direct the league's activity, and are answerable to its congress.

The Central Board of Directors:—prepares the exhaustive activity program;—establishes sections and commissions for solving various problems and performing work;—selects the delegates to international women's conferences;—nominates candidates for USSR and Lithuanian SSR organs of authority and administration, and for public organizations;—sanctions newly formed chapters, and coordinates their activity;—represents the league, and manages its current affairs.

### 4. SZhL Work Organization

A general congress of Lithuanian Women's League members considers and decides the most important matters (consideration and adoption of the constitution, the program, etc.).

The SZhL establishes a monetary fund for solving various problems.

The SZhL provides information about its activity through the press, radio, and television, and publishes its own periodical.

The SZhL Central Board of Directors meets once each month, and more frequently when necessary.

The board of directors meetings are considered to have a quorum with participation of the chairwoman or her deputy and no fewer than half of all the board's members.

Board of directors resolutions are adopted by majority vote. In the event of a tie vote, the chairing vote is considered decisive.

SZhL chapters may be established when there are applications from no fewer than five women. Chapters organize their work similarly to the Central Board of Directors.

## 5. Legal Status

The SZhL has the rights and responsibilities of a legal entity, and has its own emblem.

The SZhL's funds consist of:—annual membership dues;—voluntary contributions and donations;—funds obtained from charitable parties, concerts, contests, etc.

All SZhL authorizations and contracts must be certified by the signatures of no fewer than three members: the chairwoman and two members of the board of directors.

A general congress decides the issue of SZhL's liquidation by majority vote. After the league's liquidation, all of its property is distributed according to the congress' resolution.

## 6. League Members; Their Rights and Obligations

The SZhL consists of its members, its honorary members, and persons supporting its activity. Any Lithuanian woman, to whom the league's constitution and activity program are acceptable, and who is prepared to join actively in SZhL's work, may become an SZhL member. Individual people and organizations, either within Lithuania or beyond its borders, who further SZhL's work by actions, funds, etc., may be SZhL supporting persons. Persons who have done especially much to enhance culture in Lithuania, protect women's rights, and strengthen the family are elected honorary members.

SZhL members pay annual dues in the amount of 3 rubles, while honorary members and persons supporting the league's activity are exempted from paying dues. Those who have not paid their membership dues, or who have expressed a desire to leave league membership, cease to be considered SZhL members. Dues-paying members have the right of a deciding vote, and the rest—an advisory vote.

By two-thirds of the vote, an assembly may expel an SZhL member who is not fulfilling the constitution's requirements and is damaging the league's prestige.

SZhL members have the right:—to participate in all SZhL measures;—to obtain information about SZhL executive organs' work and resolutions;—to present proposals and statements and receive responses to these;—to elect and be elected.

SZhL members are obligated:—to meet the constitution's requirements;—to participate actively in SZhL activity;—to foster morality in themselves, their family, and their close associates.

## Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring Supported

18110072 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian  
25 Feb 89 p 3

[Letters from readers: "Assessments and Conclusions: On the People's Movement of the Ukraine Draft Program for Perestroika"]

### [Text] If We Unite Efforts

The Presidium of the Board of the Ukrainian SSR Znaniye Society has examined the draft Program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroika. The presidium feels that the idea of establishing a volunteer public initiative organization to mobilize working people for perestroika is beneficial on the whole. The idea of establishing a People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroika as well as the draft Program proposed by initiative groups of the Kiev Organization of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine and the Institute of Literature imeni T. H. Shevchenko of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, however, contain serious deficiencies. The draft program mechanically borrows organizational forms which arose in the Baltic Republics of the USSR and transfers them over to the conditions of the Ukraine, which possesses substantial differences in regard to both size of population and diversity of living conditions in the various regions. It is virtually impossible for one volunteer initiative organization to encompass and express the interests of all strata of the population.

In addition, drawing up a platform for such an organization is a matter for representatives of all strata of the population. There is no authority for these initiative groups to present a draft platform for the entire people. At best they could appeal to other public organizations and unions of creative artists to form a public initiative organization in support of perestroika.

As for the draft platform proper, its positive element is essentially a statement of the basic ideas presented by the CPSU Central Committee and, in the republic, by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. That which is stated by the authors of the draft platform contains both correct ideas, contradictory ideas, and erroneous ideas (for example, "to implement a cardinal reform in religion"). On the whole the draft platform is presumptuous and lays claim to handling those problems which should be handled by government authorities, the party, and public organizations.

It would be more expedient and realistic to rely on existing public organizations and unions of creative artists to mobilize the public to vigorous and effective activity to implement the ideas of perestroika in our republic. For this reason the presidium of the Znaniye Society proposes establishment of a Republic Coordinating Committee of Public Organizations and Unions of Creative Artists for Perestroika (RKKP), which would present legislative and other initiatives, and



would also ensure participation by the public in verifying prompt implementation of party and government decisions.

[Signed] *Presidium of the Board of the Ukrainian SSR Znaniye Society*

#### **Proclaiming Is Not Enough....**

I carefully read the draft Platform of the People's Movement for Perestroyka. As an economist, my interest was drawn first and foremost by the socioeconomic provisions of this document.

The draft platform states the task of "...achieving genuine sovereignty of the Ukraine as well as the other republics of the USSR. All the republic's land, waters, air, mineral resources, energy resources, enterprises, roads, all lines of communication and utility lines belong to the people and may be utilized by all-union or republic agencies only with the permission of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and Government." As we know, the country's economy is an integrated economic complex. How can rail transportation, for example, function within such "sovereign" restrictions? Will its operating efficiency improve if each republic resolves the problems of rail transportation solely from the point of view of local interests?

Since public ownership exists in our country, that is, ownership by the entire people and not by one republic, then this public property should be administered by the workers, kolkhoz farmers, and white-collar employees of the entire USSR. Only self-government creates conditions for uniting the interests of individual workers with the interests of workforces, soviets of people's deputies, and the entire Soviet State.

We read further: "The movement supports the right of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR to free choice of place of residence and place of exercise of their energies and abilities." Why just citizens of the Ukrainian SSR? And within what boundaries: the republic or the USSR as a whole? Why does this "freedom" not consider the interests and capabilities at least of the republic? As we see, many questions arise.

But let us consider the matter. As I see it, "free choice" applies to the individual citizen. But what about the city and rayon? How do we bring their interests into agreement with those of the citizen who has been invested with such extensive rights? I, for example, wish to live only in Kiev, to work at a university in the capital, and definitely in the department of political economy in a humanities faculty. A university does not possess any real capability to provide me with a position and housing—everybody knows this. What is going to happen? Perhaps the movement will actually implement its declaration?

"The movement demands greater housing construction in its various forms (government, cooperative, individual), with the gradual transfer of housing to ownership by

individual citizens." A legitimate question arises: how is it possible, for example, to convert a 100-apartment building—with elevator, trash chute, etc—to individual ownership? Why not convert to cooperative ownership with the right to pass on one's share by inheritance? In my opinion government, cooperative, and individual housing construction dictate such a form of residence ownership.

"The movement demands a complete reexamination of energy policy, and particularly of the program of development of nuclear power in the Ukraine, and demands a halt to the construction of a number of nuclear power plants as well as the construction of new generating units at existing nuclear power plants in this republic." This definitely makes some sense. However—what are you going to replace all this with? Unfortunately the People's Movement draft Platform suggests no specific solutions.

[Signed] *V. Khalchanskyy, candidate of economic sciences and docent, Donetsk Medical Institute*

#### **We Consider It Our Duty**

The participants in a seminar of rectors of this republic's higher educational institutions, having become acquainted with the draft Platform of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka, prepared by an initiative group of the Kiev Organization of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature, consider it their civic duty, in this critical time for the fate of our country, to express their concern in this regard.

First of all we must note that after April 1985 the party drew up an extensive program of revolutionary restructuring of the socioeconomic, political and spiritual/intellectual domain of the socialist society, including in our republic. The fact that the individual and protection of his interests has been placed at the center of all plans and actions constitutes a turning point in the party's approaches to societal processes.

Of course perestroyka does not always proceed at the pace demanded by the times and encounters administrative-bureaucratic obstacles in its path and demands by certain individuals to put the brakes on the processes of perestroyka. It is for this reason that the program of perestroyka drawn up by the party today insistently demands that the efforts of the entire people be united. As for the draft Platform of the Movement, on the contrary it is focused not on consolidation of workforces and public organizations. The entire draft Platform is infused with the idea that the Movement is claiming some kind of special place in directing the processes of perestroyka.

The participants in the republic rectors' seminar support the ideas and assessments contained in the article "Revolutionary Restructuring Is the Vital Concern of the People" (in the 18 February 1989 issue of the newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAYINA) pertaining to the draft

Platform of the Movement and in statements by representatives of the worker class and toiling intelligentsia who consider it inadvisable to establish the public organization People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroika.

On behalf of the seminar of rectors of this republic's higher educational institutions:

[Signed] *V. Sviridov, rector, Kharkov Institute of Electronic Engineering; H. Pivnyak, rector, Dnepropetrovsk Mining Institute; Ye. Terentyev, rector, Odessa Hydrometeorological Institute; V. Kondratets, rector, Kirovograd Institute of Agricultural Machine Building; I. Kuzmin, rector, Vinnitsa Polytechnic Institute; V. Popov, rector, Zaporozhye Machine Building Institute; O. Konyayev, rector, Voroshilovgrad Machine Building Institute; M. Lavrynenko, rector, Sevastopol Instrument Engineering Institute; R. Silin, rector, Khmelnytskyi Consumer Services Technological Institute; T. Maleyev, rector, Donetsk Polytechnic Institute; V. Chugayev, rector, Lvov University; Ye. Honcharuk, rector, Kiev Medical Institute; O. Onyshchenko, rector, Poltava Construction Engineering Institute.*

#### Acceptable As Is

To the editors of the newspapers LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA, RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, PRAVDA UKRAINY:

The Hromada Society and the Society's initiative group welcome publication of the draft Platform of the Movement in LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA.

We feel that the Platform can be adopted as a basis for action.

We shall present our comments and suggestions following a meeting of the expanded Hromada council and the initiative group.

At the same time, however, we emphatically condemn the extensive campaign, inspired by high echelons of the bureaucracy, of "condemnation" of the writers' initiative. We are sick to death of "endorsements" organized by the nomenklatura. If anybody today has the right to speak on behalf of the people, it is the people's consciences—the writers!

[Signed] *O. Kovalenko, secretary, Hromada Society.*

If you don't want to help the People's Movement, at least don't impede it.

All you guys care about is grabbing for yourselves a nice cushy job.

[Signed] *I. Savchenko, Dnepropetrovsk.*

**From the editors:** Openness and candor are increasingly becoming a part of our lives. This is a good thing, but democracy and glasnost, which give every individual the right to express his own thoughts, rather than conforming to some standard, presuppose at the same time

political methods of resolving problems, intelligent debate, weighing of arguments, and clear-sightedness.

In recent days our newspaper has been receiving letters which contain both a critical attitude toward the draft Platform of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroika and toward the very idea of its establishment, and support for the initiators. It is disturbing that some authors supporting the People's Movement of the Ukraine give vent to open rudeness and resort to ultimatums, psychological pressure, and extremism. How do they intend to implement the provisions of the draft platform for democracy when they are so patently disregarding it right now?

Some letters are filled with such unseemly attacks that one is ashamed to print them in this newspaper. When they lack substantial arguments favoring the Movement, sometimes its supporters, in the attempt to put the wood to their opponents, resort to unsubstantiated accusations and slander. But we are no longer dealing here solely with ethics and morality. In addition, such methods of support do not help but merely hinder the initiators of establishment of the Movement.

#### Progress, Problems of Teaching Ukrainian in Schools Discussed

*18001412 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
4 Jun 89 p 3*

[Interview with Mariya Grigoryevna Yeremtsova, deputy chief of the Main Teaching-Methods Administration for General Secondary Education, UkSSR Ministry of Public Education, by N. Karpova: "What Language Should a Child Be Taught?"]

[Text] Recently the editors have been receiving more and more frequent letters whose writers bring up the issues of studying the languages of the peoples of the USSR in this republic's schools, and—in the first place—the study of Ukrainian. Various opinions are stated.

In the opinion of some of our letter-writers, the Ukrainian language is being undeservedly being pushed "into the background" by the Russian language. Others consider that their children have no reason at all to study Ukrainian if the instruction at the school being attended by their children, as well as at many of this republic's VUZ's, is given in Russian. Many persons inquire as to whether their son or daughter can be freed from this additional load, which "takes time and effort necessary for studying other subjects."

We decided to discuss these problems in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Public Education.

Such letters are not rare for us either, stated Mariya Grigoryevna Yeremtsova, deputy chief, Main Teaching-Methods Administration for General Secondary Education. And our letter-writers also state diametrically opposite opinions. There are those persons who categorically assert that instruction in this republic's schools must be

conducted solely in Ukrainian. They forget that it is not only Ukrainians who live in the Ukraine, but also Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and members of other nationalities. The opinion of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Public Education on this score is unequivocal: any extremes in solving such a complex problem are simply inadmissible. In our republic, as is also the case throughout the entire country, the right of children to receive instruction in their native language has been guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR. And, in accordance with Article 20 of the Fundamental Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Public Education, in addition to the language in which instruction is conducted, the pupils, if they desire to do so, are allowed to study the language of another people of the USSR.

At the All-Union Teachers' Congress the Ukrainian Delegation introduced the following proposal regarding the revision of Article 20. The gist of this proposal is to offer the republics the right to decide on their own which languages are to be made mandatory for study in schools. Let's hope that, with the adoption of the USSR's new law on public education and the Ukrainian SSR's law on the study of national languages, many of the above-mentioned problems will be solved.

[N. Karpova] Parents report that, for example, in Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Kharkov, and Chernigov oblasts the possibilities for obtaining an education in the native language are limited.

[M.G. Yeremtsova] Indeed, in several large, industrial centers the number of schools with Russian as the language of instruction has grown at an outstripping pace. At a certain stage these processes were not administered vigorously enough by the Ministry of Public Education or the local Soviets of People's Deputies. We have critically evaluated the situation which has evolved, and during this academic year alone the number of Ukrainian-language schools has increased by 137. Moreover, a course has been adopted which is aimed at increasing such schools where there are patently not enough of them. This trend is also being followed in Kiev. Here 130 schools, i.e., almost half of their total number, operate with Ukrainian as their language of instruction. Furthermore, 216 of Kiev's kindergartens are already operating within the Ukrainian language system. However, this process is more evolutionary than revolutionary. It is, after all, necessary to prepare a material base and train pedagogical personnel. This takes more than a day and is not so simple as it might seem at first glance.

In places where it is impossible to establish schools using Ukrainian separate grades are being set up. At present in this republic there are about 500 schools which have Ukrainian and Russian as languages of instruction. I recall that V.I. Lenin used to emphasize that the cause of internationalism and the brotherhood of peoples is

served by having instruction in the native and in Russian languages not in different schools but specifically in one and the same school.

[N. Karpova] Our editor's mailbag contains quite a few letters reporting violations by certain school supervisors of the legislative acts concerning the voluntary study of the Ukrainian language in Russian-language schools. How is this to be explained? What kinds of arguments can parents adduce who insist that their children be released from Ukrainian-language lessons?

[M.G. Yeremstvova] We analyze such mail with particular care. Parents often appeal to us who are military-service personnel or members of the so-called "migrating" specializations—builders, geologists, persons working to drill for an extract natural gas.... Since they do not plan to stay in the Ukraine for a long time, they consider that it is not worthwhile for their children to begin to study the Ukrainian language, all the more so if their children have fallen behind their peers in this school subject.

And, of course, such requests must be granted without compelling people to turn to various other authorities. Any sort of compulsion here is inadmissible.

It's a different matter when the request of parents living permanently on this republic's territory conceals a desire, by means of a release from language study, to reduce the study load on the child. There is often a fear of bad marks, when a pupil is beginning to study a language not in the second grade, but later. In order to help such children make up for lost ground without damaging their success rate, we recommend that, during the initial years of studying Ukrainian, the pupils should not be graded in this subject but merely be given encouraging evaluations. By the way, this is not a new procedure; it has been used since the 1960's.

The ministry persistently advises parents not to be in so much of a hurry to deprive their children of the opportunity to study, to the extent of their abilities, the language of the people among whom they live. And this does not in any way contradict the existing legislation or the democratization of our society. We place great hopes on the school councils for the solution of this problem. It is precisely they who would be able to convince, and let me emphasize that word, the pupil and his parents that to live in the Ukraine and not know the language means, to a large extent, not to have polished one's education. Because, of course, without having learned the language, it is difficult to share in the extremely rich culture of this people. And why consciously cut a child off in this way, without utilizing the opportunities offered by this republic's schools?

For the sake of fairness, we must say that, in matters of propagandizing the language, our teachers are still far from doing all they should. An intelligent, tactful, and skilful teacher is always capable of imbuing pupils with a love for the subject being taught, of disclosing the richly abundant world of the Ukrainian language. I can

cite as an example the methods-teacher Yuriy Ivanovich Pavlenko, who works in the first secondary school in the city of Kommunar'sk. Here all the children study Ukrainian, although less than half of them are Ukrainians. And in one of the schools in the Artemovskiy Rayon of Donetsk Oblast I myself have seen the pleasure with which the kids work on their Ukrainian-language lessons. And their parents are originally from the Caucasus, Central Asia, and even from some African countries.

Due to the masterful skill of teachers and the persistent propaganda work of the Ministry of Public Education, the number of children not studying Ukrainian has recently been reduced by half in this republic; nowadays it does not even amount to 3 percent.

[N. Karpova] One last point. Particular alarm for the fate of the native language has been expressed by Ukrainian writers, who have at times scolded the staff members of the republic's Ministry of Public Education for allocating more words than deeds to this matter of concern.

[M.G. Yeremtsova] Yes, just recently we had occasion to listen to such claims from certain writers. But we cannot

agree with them. Can a real growth in the number of kindergartens, schools, and grades with Ukrainian, Moldavian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and other languages of instruction be only a matter of words? And the essential completion of syllabi for Ukrainian literature (there are no four of them, operating in a parallel fashion), and the significant increase in the number of hours spent on studying language and literature, the introduction, beginning in the present year, of the study of the native language in the 9th and 10th grades, the renovation of sets of educational-methods materials, the publication of new textbooks on Ukrainian language and literature for the 8th grade. What about all these accomplishments? And this is far from a complete enumeration of all that has been done. And we will be working further along these lines.

For example, beginning with the new school year, we will be introducing an oral-aural course in the Ukrainian language as early in the sequence as the first grades of the Russian-language schools, significantly increasing the number of hours devoted to studying Ukrainian in the elementary grades, as well as in the 10th and 11th grades. The syllabi will be enriched with national folklore.